

TIMOUR.

From an Original in the Bodleian Library.

INSTITUTES
POLITICAL AND MILITARY,
WRITTEN ORIGINALLY
IN THE MOGUL LANGUAGE,
BY THE GREAT
TIMOUR, IMPROPERLY CALLED TAMERLANE;

Firſt tranſlated into PERSIAN by ABU TAULIB ALHUSSEINI; and thence into ENGLISH, with Marginal Notes,

BY MAJOR DAVY,
PERSIAN SECRETARY TO THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE BENGAL FORCES
From the Year M DCC LXX to M DCC LXXIII.
AND NOW PERSIAN SECR. TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BENGAL.

The Original PERSIAN tranſcribed from a MS. in the Poſſeſſion of Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER, PHYSICIAN EXTRAORDINARY to the QUEEN F. R. & A. S. and of the ROYAL ACADEMY of SCIENCES at PARIS; and the WHOLE WORK publiſhed with a Preface, Indexes Geographical Notes, &c. &c.

BY JOSEPH WHITE, B. D.
FELLOW of WADHAM COLLEGE, and LAUDIAN PROFESSOR of ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

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TO

WILLIAM DEVAYNES, Esq.

CHAIRMAN,

AND THE OTHER DIRECTORS

OF THE

HONOURABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

IN THE YEAR 1780;

THIS WORK,

WHICH THEIR MUNIFICENCE

HAS CAUSED TO BE PUBLISHED,

FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS

IN THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST,

IS WITH MUCH RESPECT AND GRATITUDE INSCRIBED

BY

W. DAVY AND J. WHITE.

PREFACE.

THE illuſtrious Name of TIMOUR was firſt made known to Europe by tradition: and his heroic actions are ſtill celebrated by many who have never ſeen the hiſtory written by Ali Yezdi, nor peruſed the accounts of D'Herbelot and Voltaire. I am therefore happily unencumbered with the embarraſſments of an author who labours to combat general prejudices, or to introduce a new character to the world.

THE life of this great conqueror was written, in obedience to the command of his grandſon, by Ali Yezdi, a native of Perſia. That work, which has been tranſlated into French by Petis de la Croix (and from his tranſlation into Engliſh) is valuable, not ſo much for the flowery phraſes with which it abounds, as for the authenticity of its materials: it was collected from the journals regularly kept by the Emperor's ſecretaries, in which were recorded every event and tranſaction of his reign.

IN

In the thirty ſixth year after the death of Timour, his life was again written, in Arabic, by Ahmed Ibn Arabſhah, a Syrian. That author poſſeſſed, like the former, a lively and deſcriptive pen: but what he gains in elegance, he loſes in truth and candour; for in every page of his work may be diſcerned the hatred of a conquered enemy, and thoſe national prejudices which are diſgraceful to an hiſtorian.

Other hiſtories of Timour's life and actions have been written, and ſome of them are now preſerved in European cabinets. One of them which has eclipſed the reſt, and which alone deſerves to be the object of our particular notice, was written under the conqueror's inſpection, if not by his own hand. The ſuperior value of this hiſtory is at once perceived: for it was drawn not only from thoſe authentic ſources to which Ali Yezdi found acceſs, but alſo from a perſonal recollection of thoſe tranſactions whoſe motives and objects were perhaps known only to himſelf. It has not yet found its way into Europe: but I have been informed by Mr. Davy, who has read it in the Eaſt, that it is a minute and faithful narrative of an intereſting and eventful period. I therefore hope my friend, who will ſpare no ſearch or expence to procure it, will bring it with him when he returns from his public ſtation abroad, and tranſlate for the information and entertainment of his country, a larger and more certain account of Timour's conqueſts than we now poſſeſs. To this hiſtory, ſome who have no other wiſh than to leſſen its eſtimation, have objected, that it muſt certainly be partial, and that its imperial author muſt have ſtudiouſly concealed his

vices from the reader's eye, and reflected upon his virtues more light than they will bear. But theſe harſh opinions can be pronounced or credited by thoſe only who are unacquainted with his writings, and the praiſe which his enemies have given him, that he was a lover of veraciy, who hated, detected, and puniſhed falſehood, with ſincerity, penetration and conſtancy. That he might purſue his great objects by the light of truth, he made uſe of every friend and every foe: and in his Inſtitutes he does not bluſh to acknowledge his errors and miſfortunes, but glories that he has profited by them. Ambition, the infirmity of noble minds, was perhaps his only fault. The deſire of conqueſt is a principle which the liberty of modern times has juſtly reprobated. But TIMOUR's conqueſts were in a great meaſure produced by other cauſes; by the manners of the age and country in which he lived, and by the treachery of kings, who whilſt they envied his greatneſs, profeſſed themſelves his friends. It is needleſs to ſpeak of his valour; for who has not heard of his ſucceſsful wars, his perſeverance and reſolution in diſtreſs, and his ſerene and temperate conduct after victory? That he poſſeſſed the humane and liberal virtues cannot be doubted, when we read that he forbore to take revenge when it could not interfere with his intereſt, and that he extended the rights of ſubjects and citizens to nations who were willing to be ſlaves. When he had ſeen his vaſt empire riſing, like the infant world, out of anarchy under his victorious hands, he diſpenſed order through every part of the dominion he had created, and governed it with wiſdom, juſtice and benevolence. There is therefore leſs reaſon to blame his ambition, than to admire the amiable moderation by which it was reſtrained.

IF

If the reader of this preface has not perufed any hiſtory of Timour's actions, he will think theſe praiſes laboured, perhaps will call them extravagant; if he has, he will conſider them as the free tribute which honeſt admiration and a feeling heart pays to the virtues of an exalted character. There is, however, another reaſon which has induced me to ſpeak ſo largely in this place of Timour's character, and of the Hiſtory written by himſelf: for from that Hiſtory he ſelected thoſe Deſigns and Inſtitutes which I have the honour of preſenting in this volume to the public.

There is ever a ſolemnity and a kind of ſacred authority in the inſtructions which a dying parent delivers to his offſpring. When the Lord of the Eaſt laid down his ſceptre, which he had long and well ſupported, he did not leave to his ſucceſſor a verbal injunction, a ſhort leſſon of morality, which might ſoon be forgotten amidſt the cares and pleaſures of a court; but beſtowed with his empire a gift more valuable, the art to preſerve it. In the leiſure of his declining years, he had thrown a retroſpective eye over the ſcenes of a long and various life, and thence he committed to writing for the perpetual inſtruction of his imperial deſcendants, thoſe rules of government and thoſe meaſures of policy which himſelf had invariably followed: and from his Hiſtory he collected, without regard to chronological order, the ſeveral plans he had formed, and their ſucceſs. To theſe he added his Omens, which are omitted in this publication, becauſe, however conſiſtent they might have been, when they were written, with the manners and religion of the Eaſt, and whatever political purpoſes they

might

might then have tended to promote, the prefent age wifely difregards fuch fuperftitions.

THE MS. of which I now prefent a tranflation to the public, is to be found in that ineftimable repofitory of literary treafures, Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER's Mufeum. *

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* This Mufeum is univerfally known as one of the moft auguft monuments of a love of fcience now exifting in the world, and is become much too illuftrious an object of curiofity not to merit a more exact defcription than has yet been given of it to the public. My reader therefore will, I am perfuaded, readily forgive me, if I embrace this opportunity of acquainting him in a more detailed manner, with the great extent and variety of thofe obligations which its generous poffeffor has already conferred, and is likely to confer in a ftill higher degree upon the learned world.

IN faying that the Mufeum ftands unrivalled in the number, ufefulnefs, and neatnefs of the ANATOMICAL PREPARATIONS, I fay no no more than what every perfon is prepared to expect. No man could approach Dr. HUNTER's Mufeum without a conviction that no exertion of art, no expence would be wanting to illuftrate and embellifh a fcience which his own ftudies have carried to a degree of excellence, that has made our Metropolis the firft fchool of anatomy in the world.

THE collection of MEDALS acquired at an immenfe expence, defies the competition of any Royal Cabinet in Europe, that of his moft Chriftian Majefty only excepted. The latter, which before the eftablifhment of Dr. HUNTER's was without a rival, can hardly claim a decided fuperiority; in many refpects is confeffedly its inferior. The Doctor, who is not more diftinguifhed by his poffeffion than by his knowledge of thefe treafures, is at prefent employed, with the learned and ingenious Mr. COMBE, in publifhing a part of them in three divifions; one containing the Greek cities, another the Perfian, Phenician, Samaritan, Palmyrene, Punic &c. and the third the Greek Kings.

Of this MS. I publiſhed in 1780 a tranſlated Specimen. The attention with which that experiment of the public favour and opinion was received, gave birth to the preſent work,

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The work will be executed not only with elegance and ſplendor, but with a degree of accuracy and fidelity totally unuſual in publications of this ſort.

The Library comprehends moſt of the early printed books of the xv. century, the rare editions of the claſſics, the expenſive works of natural hiſtory, of general hiſtory, and antiquities; and particularly all the curious and valuable books in medicine. And in addition to this collection of printed books, there is a conſiderable collection of MSS. in all the languages that are cultivated by men of erudition.

The collection of natural history is enriched with ſpecimens of the moſt beautiful productions in every claſs. The claſs of fossils, and likewiſe that of corals, and of Birds poſſeſs many ſpecimens that are peculiar to this cabinet. The claſs of shells is ample and elegant; the ſame character is applicable to that of insects. And there is a numerous catalogue of miſcellaneous curioſities not reducible to any particular arrangement.

This Muſeum, thus ſplendidly and ſcientifically eſtabliſhed, has been the laborious and expenſive acquiſition of a Gentleman, to whoſe love of ſcience the academies of our own and other countries have borne the moſt honourable teſtimonies.

The public muſt be anxious to know the final deſtination of ſuch treaſures; it is largely intereſted in their fate, and would have abundant reaſon to lament their diſperſion. But, happily for the world, their proprietor is actuated by much higher motives than thoſe of mere perſonal gratification; a ſelfiſh, ſolitary love of letters was not the primary inducement that influenced his mind; and in proportion as his treaſures become more important, he feels more ſtrongly the obligation of devoting them to the uſe of the public. Such an act of munificence, as, I hear, He intends to perform in bequeathing his collection to the public

which I immediately determined to execute. As I proceeded in the tranſlation, I found difficulties in the ſequel, which had not occurred in the ſpecimen: and I obſerved in the courſe of the work ſo many terms of the Military Art, which my ſtudies had never led me to examine, and ſo many idioms of the Tartar Language which no lexicon in Europe has explained, that I choſe to decline the firſt honours of the preſent publication, and deſired to devolve the whole taſk of tranſlation on Mr. DAVY. His knowledge of that art and language pointed him out as one peculiarly qualified to undertake it; and his ready compliance with my requeſt has added an obligation of a public nature to many inſtances of private friendſhip. The tranſlation was fortunately completed, when Mr. DAVY was called to India by an honourable appointment under LORD MACARTNEY. The ſubordinate duties of an Editor, therefore, reverted to me: and I hope that by my accuracy in ſuperintending the impreſſion of the Original, and my diligence in compiling the Indexes, I ſhall give ſatisfaction to my friendly aſſociate as well as to the public. That I may not however loſe any aſſiſtance which a colleague ſo ingenious and intelligent can contribute, I have ſubjoined to this preface a Letter on the Authenticity of the Inſtitutes, with

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public, is all that is wanting to perpetuate the gratitude of the learned world, and to place the name of HUNTER on a footing of equality, in the eſtimation of future ages, with the SLOANES, the MAFFEIS, and other illuſtrious benefactors of mankind.

IT was to the Doctor's library that this publication was indebted for the original MS; and it was ſtill further aſſiſted by a donation of three plates, and a very liberal encouragement of ſubſcription.

which

which I was favoured in anſwer to my earneſt requeſt, and which has received the praiſe and aſſent of all who have read it.

THIS is all, concerning the Author and the Edition, that I think neceſſary to be obſerved to the general readers of TIMOUR's Inſtitutes; a work, which if I am not miſled by the prepoſſeſſions of an editor, will be eſteemed curious and valuable by men of various profeſſions. The ſcholar is ever delighted with a larger knowledge of illuſtrious characters, with their remains reſcued from long oblivion, and all that tends to throw additional light on the hiſtory of mankind. He who ſtudies and profeſſes the military art, will ſurvey with pleaſure modes of marſhalling and encamping armies, and the ſtratagems of a great conqueror, judiciouſly and ſucceſsfully formed, though different from his own. The politician muſt be intereſted in the peruſal of meaſures, by which diſtant nations were united under the ſame government, and which baffled all the dangerous intrigues of powerful courts and deſigning men.

BUT the moſt immediate and evident advantage that can be derived from the preſent publication, remains yet to be told. The ſuperiority which a knowledge of the Perſian language confers on its poſſeſſors in our Eaſt India ſettlements is allowed by all whoſe civil or military ſtations have obliged them to reſide in thoſe countries. To thoſe readers who have not received this perſonal conviction, I recommend an attentive conſideration of Mr. DAVY's letter upon the ſubject, which I have added for their peruſal at the end of this volume,

volume, and by which every doubt that remains will be removed. To facilitate the attainment of this beautiful language, a Dictionary, and a Grammar, have been publiſhed by two Gentlemen, whom I have the honour to call my friends. The firſt of theſe performances is diſtinguiſhed by immenſe labour and accuracy, the other by that propriety of arrangement which is peculiar to an elegant mind. But a language is neither learnt nor ſtudied in a grammar or a dictionary. It can only be acquired by the help of books, or oral converſe: and it has often been lamented by gentlemen intending to enter into the company's ſervice abroad, and therefore deſirous of learning the Perſian language, that in England where it cannot be acquired by colloquial methods of inſtruction, the ſecondary advantages of printed Perſian volumes ſhould be wanting.

THAT this deficiency may no longer be the occaſion of difficulties and a reaſon of complaint, the Inſtitutes of TIMOUR are now publiſhed in a faithful Engliſh verſion, and the Perſian from which it is tranſlated. Nothing can be more happily calculated for the purpoſe of teaching a language than a work like the preſent, abounding with that ſimple grandeur which is peculiar to Eaſtern compoſitions, and which has been ſo often admired in the ſcriptures of the Hebrew teſtament.

GRATITUDE will not ſuffer me to conclude theſe prefatory remarks, without expreſſing acknowledgements to C.W. BOUGHTON ROUSE, Eſq; for favours which he has conferred with a friendly politeneſs on the work and its editor; for the uſe of a valuable Perſian MS. which containing a conſiderable portion of the original work, has enabled me to collate and correct

many

many faulty paſſages; and for the communication of ſeveral curious Perſian papers, by the help of which my pupils in that language have derived ſuch advantages from my lectures as could not be ſupplied by the ſingle aſſiſtance of the printed volume.

I ALSO deſire the ſame ingenious Gentleman to accept my public thanks for the tranſlation of the Brahminic Prayer, * with which he has favoured me, and which, in compliance

* Notwithſtanding Mr. DOWE's aſſertion to the contrary, there is reaſon to believe that various tranſlations of Shanſcrit books have been compoſed in the Perſian language; and that the theology and philoſophy of the Hindoos have been a ſubject of enquiry amongſt men of rank in Indoſtan, when letters were much cultivated. In a curious and valuable work compoſed about two centuries ago by the command of the Emperor Akbar, we find a large account of the aſtronomy, philoſophy, religious principles and cuſtoms of this very ſingular nation. This is not the only Perſian work that illuſtrates the hiſtory of a people ſo little known. A tranſlation has been made into the ſame language of the famous Shanſcrit poem, called Mahbarit (or the great war) ſaid to contain a hundred and twenty thouſand ſtanzas. We find likewiſe that Dara Shekoo, one of the ſons of the Emperor Shah Jehan, paid ſuch attention, and gave ſuch encouragement to the profeſſors of the Hindoo Religion, that he was treated as an infidel by his younger brother Aurengzebe, who made this partiality a plea for exciting all the Mahommedans againſt him, and preventing his ſucceſſion to the empire of his father. This learned prince was the author of many works, the moſt valuable of which, perhaps, is his ſummary of the Four Bedes (or ſacred books) of the Hindoos, containing very curious and abſtract diſcuſſions of their metaphyſics and religious principles, *upon the nature and exiſtence of the world — of the ſupreme Being — of the human mind and its faculties — of the worſhip due to the ſupreme Being, as ſole Creator of the world* &c. &c.

Some tranſlated fragments of this work, as well as the original Perſian, having been ſhewn me by Mr. ROUSE, I was highly ſtruck with the ſublimity and beauty of many of the paſſages; and judging that a ſpecimen would be extremely acceptable to the readers of this volume, I requeſted leave to inſert at the end of it *One of the Prayers directed by the Brahmins to be offered up to the Supreme Being.*

with my wiſhes he has given me permiſſion to publiſh. I have therefore inſerted it, annexed to the ſpecimen of *Euſoof* and *Zoolleikha*, in the preſent publication: not merely for the ſake of that beauty of thought and expreſſion, of which there is much in both to be admired; but becauſe, like the work of TIMOUR, it ſerves to prove that a knowledge of the Perſian diſplays to the European ſcholar not only whatever is valuable in its native compoſitions, but alſo the yet undiſcovered treaſures of the Shanſcrit, the Mogul, and other remote languages of the Eaſt.

WADH. COLL.
Oct. 15. 1782.

J. WHITE.

The knowledge of the particulars contained in this note I owe to my converſations on the ſubject with Mr. ROUSE, from whoſe general acquaintance with the literature of India I have derived much curious and uſeful information.

Mr. DAVY's Letter on the Authenticity of the Inſtitutes.

Glouceſter, Oct. 24. 1779.

" MY GOOD FRIEND,

I HAVE received your favour of the 20th inſtant, and wiſh moſt heartily that my ability to comply with your requeſt was equal to my inclination.

" YOU apply to me for *external* evidence to eſtabliſh the Authenticity of TIMOUR's Inſtitutes: it is by no means an eaſy taſk which you impoſe on me; ſuch reaſons, however, as have led me to believe them genuine, I ſhall freely communicate. How far they may tend to remove the doubts of unbelieving Critics, I cannot pretend to ſay; poſſibly, in the opinions of ſuch Gentlemen, they may only ſerve to eſtabliſh my own credulity: be that as it may, I ſhall ſet out with declaring to you, that I cannot produce any *hiſtorical* proofs of the Authenticity of theſe Inſtitutes.

" THE only Hiſtories of TIMOUR, which I have read (that written by himſelf excepted,) are thoſe of *Shurruf u'deen Alli Yezzudi* and *Mirkhond:* the latter is in the *Rouzut ul Suffau.* True it is that neither of theſe authors, to the beſt of my remembrance, take any notice of the Inſtitutes, or of the Hiſtory (or Commentaries) of TIMOUR, ſaid to be written by himſelf. *Alli Yezzudi* ſays, that TIMOUR was always attended by ſeveral learned and able men, whoſe ſole employment was to keep a ſort of hiſtorical Journals of all Tranſactions as they occurred, both military and civil; that they were directed to

adhere minutely to the truth in their relations of the moſt trifling facts, and that they were ſtill more particularly enjoined to obſerve the ſtricteſt impartiality in their narratives of the conduct and actions of the Emperor himſelf. Theſe hiſtorical Journals, if they may be ſo called, were, from time to time, read in his preſence, in the preſence of his Miniſters and Officers, and of the learned: they were compared with, and corrected by, each other, by the Emperor himſelf, and by ſuch of his people as had a perſonal knowledge of the Tranſactions therein related. It muſt be allowed, that this was no bad way of collecting authentic materials for the hiſtory of a mighty Emperor, governing a mighty Empire; if he took care to enforce his commands by proving himſelf ſuperior to flattery, and by an encouragement of that truth and impartiality, which he ſo ſtrictly enjoined. From theſe materials, ſome of which were in proſe, ſome in verſe, ſome in the Turki (or Mogul) language, ſome in the Perſian, *Alli Yezzudi*, afterwards compiled the Hiſtory of the Reign and Conqueſts of Timour, as he himſelf declares: and with the aſſiſtance of theſe very materials, it is concluded that TIMOUR wrote that voluminous and valuable Hiſtory of his own Life, to which he added his Inſtitutes. How it came to paſs that that Hiſtory and thoſe Inſtitutes were not taken notice of either by *Alli Yezzudi*, or *Mirkhond*, it is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to tell; but though the cauſe cannot with certainty be pointed out, there is room for many plauſible conjectures. The hiſtorical Journals before mentioned were numerous, and they were public alſo; the great and the learned had free acceſs to them; many copies of them were taken, and, with the originals, handed down to poſterity: the Life of TIMOUR, and his Inſtitutes, on the contrary, was a private work, compoſed by himſelf, with the aſſiſtance which thoſe materials afforded him. This work the Conqueror was led to engage in from motives to us unknown: amuſement or ambition, or both, might urge him to the arduous undertaking. Whether it was written with his own

hand,

hand, or by a favourite and trufty amanuenfis, is uncertain; but which ever was the cafe, it is moft probable, that one copy only exifted during his life-time, and poffibly for many years afterwards: what became of that copy, during the confufions that followed his death, is equally uncertain and open to conjecture. But after all, it is no unreafonable fuppofition, that fuch a work in manufcript might have exifted, though *Alli Yezzudi* and *Mirkhond* knew nothing of the matter. That they were not acquainted with it, is evident: for if they had, and thought it authentic, they would have beftowed upon it all the applaufe which is due to the intrinfic merit of the work; if they had known and thought it fpurious, they would have refuted its authenticity. But they have done neither; they are totally filent on the fubject: from whence we may conclude, that they were ftrangers to the work. But it by no means follows, that fuch a work could not exift, becaufe they, or even cotemporary authors, knew nothing about it.

"THE Hiftory of TIMOUR, written by himfelf, carries with it the ftrongeft proofs that he wrote for pofterity only; and that he could not, in prudence, or in policy, make his work public during his life: for it contains not only the fame accurate detail of the Facts and Occurrences of his reign, as are found in other Authors, but it goes much further. He gives you that which he only had the power to give, the fecret Springs and Motives which influenced his conduct in the various political and military tranfactions of his life, the arts by which he governed, as well as the power by which he conquered. He acknowledges his weakneffes, honeftly owns his errors, defcribes the difficulties in which he was occafionally involved by thofe errors, and the policy by which he furmounted and overcame thofe difficulties. In a word, it is a complete Index to his head and his heart; and though, take it all in all, it redounds to the honour of both the one and the other, yet it was a work by no means calculated for the perufal of his enemies,

or even his ſubjects during his life; ſince it would have enabled thoſe who choſe it, to combat him with his own weapons, or, in other words, to have turned his arts and his policy againſt himſelf. Hence it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Work in queſtion was entirely unknown during his life; and its ſubſequent temporary obſcurity may, I think, be plauſibly accounted for, by the probability of one copy only exiſting at the time of his death, by the uncertainty into whoſe hands that copy fell, and by the diviſions which followed in his family after the death of *Shaahroch*.

" *Abu Taulib ul Huſſeini*, in the Dedication of his Tranſlation to *Sultaun ul Audil*, ſays, that in the Library of *Jafir*, *Haukim* of *Yemmun*, he met with a manuſcript in the Turki, or Mogul language, which, on inſpection, proved to be the Hiſtory of TIMOUR, written by himſelf; containing an account of his Life and Actions from the ſeventh to the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, &c. &c. He then proceeds to give the Tranſlation of the ſaid Hiſtory, in which are included the Inſtitutes.

" IT may appear remarkable that the Tranſlator ſhould ſay ſo little, or in fact nothing, to prove the authenticity of the valuable work, which he was about to tranſlate. It has an extraordinary appearance, I allow; but, I think, the following inferences only can be drawn from it: either that he thought the work itſelf contained ſufficient proofs of its own authenticity, or that at the period when he tranſlated it, it was ſo well known, as not to admit of doubt, or diſpute. For my part, I think his inattention to this point is a very ſtrong, if not the ſtrongeſt poſſible proof, that the Hiſtory and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR are genuine.

" AN European Critic may ſay, that this ſame *Abu Taulib* might have wrote the work himſelf in the Perſian language, and have impoſed it upon the world as a Tranſlation from the Royal

Royal Mogul author. This I take to be impoſſible. Authors in the Eaſt neither ſold their works to bookſellers, nor publiſhed by ſubſcription, nor depended for ſupport on the applauſe, the generoſity, or the credulity of the public: they were patronized by Princes, who rewarded their labours in proportion to the value of their works. And therefore, if *Abu Taulib* had been capable of writing ſuch a work, he never would have been guilty of ſo dangerous and fooliſh an artifice, which could tend only to diminiſh both his fame and his profit. The applauſe and the reward due to the Tranſlator of an excellent work, muſt, whatever his merit, be inferior to thoſe which are due to the author of ſuch a work; if therefore he had been maſter of abilities to write the Life and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR, as there written, he would have ſpoke in the third perſon inſtead of the firſt (no other alteration being neceſſary,) and have ſtood forth as the author of the firſt and beſt Hiſtory of the Life of TIMOUR, that ever was wrote; for which he muſt have obtained both applauſe and profit tenfold. The ſame mode of reaſoning will hold good to prove that the *Turki* copy could not be wrote by any *Mogul* author, but him to whom it is aſcribed, TIMOUR HIMSELF.

" THE noble ſimplicity of Diction, the plain and unadorned Egotiſm that runs through the whole of the Inſtitutes and Hiſtory of TIMOUR, are peculiarities which mark their originality and their antiquity alſo. The Orientals, for ſome centuries paſt, have adopted a very different mode of writing; the beſt of their hiſtorical works are filled with poetical and hyperbolical Flowers and Flouriſhes, which are ſo numerous, and occur ſo frequently, that many a *folio* volume, weeded and pruned of theſe ſuperfluities, would be reduced to a very moderate *octavo*.

" THE only work bearing the leaſt reſemblance to the Life and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR, which has fallen under my obſervation, is the Hiſtory (or Commentaries) of *Sultaun Babour*, written

written by himſelf. Babour was deſcended from TIMOUR in the fifth degree; he was the ſon of Omer, the ſon of Abu Saeed, the ſon of Mahummud, the ſon of Meraun Shaah, the ſon of TIMOUR. About eighty years elapſed between the death of TIMOUR and the birth of Babour. Babour in the twelfth year of his age, and the 899th year of the *Hejra*, ſat upon the throne of his father, in the kingdom of *Furgauneh*. The earlier part of his life very much reſembled that of his great predeceſſor, TIMOUR: and his abilities in the Field and in the Cabinet, his fortitude in diſtreſs, his activity and courage when ſurrounded with difficulties and danger, and the glory and ſucceſs with which his Enterprizes were finally crowned, make the reſemblance between theſe two Princes ſtill more ſtriking. Like TIMOUR, Babour wrote an accurate Hiſtory of his own Life and Actions in the *Turki* language; which though by no means equal to the admirable compoſition of his renowned anceſtor, is a work of infinite merit. Yet this hiſtory, great as the Royal Author was, remained in obſcurity till the middle of the reign of his grandſon *Acbur*, when it was tranſlated into the Perſian language by one of his Omrahs, *Khaun a Khaunaun*. It is more difficult to account for the temporary obſcurity of this valuable work, than for that of TIMOUR's; for at the death of Babour it muſt have fallen into the hands of his ſon *Humaioon*, and on his death, into thoſe of *Acbur*. Yet till the middle of his reign it remained unknown and untranſlated: and if *Acbur* had, in the early part of his life, been driven from his throne, if Diviſions had taken place in his family, and his poſterity had been ſcattered abroad, this valuable Manuſcript might have fallen into private hands, and have remained unknown for a century longer; poſſibly, have been totally loſt. No Critic, either Oriental or European, pretends to diſpute the authenticity of Babour's Hiſtory; and, as far as I have been able to diſcover, the Learned of the Eaſt conſider the Inſtitutes and Hiſtory of TIMOUR as equally genuine.

"I WAS

"I WAS acquainted with ſeveral great and learned Men in India, both Natives and Perſians: on peruſing the works of TIMOUR, I was led to make the ſame enquiry which you have made, Whether they were, or were not authentic? The anſwers I received were always in the affirmative, and attended with ſome tokens and expreſſions of ſurprize, that I ſhould, or could, doubt their being genuine. SHAAH AULUM, the preſent Mogul, has a beautiful copy of the Hiſtory and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR; which he holds in ſuch eſteem, and of which he is ſo exceedingly careful, that though he granted me the uſe of any other book in his poſſeſſion, this he poſitively excepted by name, as a work ſo rare and valuable, that he could not truſt it to the care of any perſon whatever.

"UPON the whole, if the learned of the Eaſt, for ſeveral generations, have been induced to give implicit credit to the Inſtitutes and Hiſtory of TIMOUR, which is certainly the caſe, I do not ſee how Europeans can, with any degree of propriety, doubt their authenticity. The Oriental Critics have the very beſt materials on which to form their opinions; our ſmall ſtock of knowledge in the language, and ſtill ſmaller ſtock of Aſiatic Hiſtorians, render us very incompetent judges of the point in queſtion. There are a great number of Oriental Manuſcripts in the libraries of the Learned; but I am convinced, that there are ſtill many, very many, which never have found, and poſſibly never will find, their way into Europe; and therefore, though no *hiſtorical* evidence can be produced to prove the authenticity of the Works of TIMOUR, yet no one can pretend to ſay, that ſuch *hiſtorical* Proofs do not exiſt. The learned of the Eaſt muſt be the beſt judges whether they do, or do not merit their belief and veneration; and they have thought proper to beſtow upon them both the one and the other. It is much to be regretted, that the Life of TIMOUR, written by himſelf, is not to be found in Europe: if that, and the Inſti-

tutes

tutes could be tranflated and publifhed together, fuch is the accuracy of the narrative, fuch the importance of the matter, and fuch the lights that they would mutually reflect on each other, that it would, I conceive, be impoffible for any one to read them, without acquiefcing in their Authenticity from the *internal* Evidence alone.

Yours, moft affuredly,

WILLIAM DAVY."

Account of the Portrait of TIMOUR.

The Note and Letter here following are printed from a Book of Eaſtern *Portraits given by Mr.* POPE *to the Univerſity. They are ſufficiently explicit in themſelves and require no Illuſtration.*

"THIS Book (containing one hundred and ſeventy eight
" Portraits of the Indian Rajahs continued to TAMER-
" LANE and the great Mogols his ſucceſſors as far as to Âu-
" rengzebe) was procured at Surat by Mr. JOHN CLELAND,
" and given to the Bodley-Library, as a token of reſpect by

ALEX. POPE."

1737.

To Mr. EVERARD, Fellow of Braze-Noſe College, Oxford.

LONDON, the 8[th]. *July*, 1760.

" WITH great pleaſure it is, SIR, that I comply with your intimation to me of a deſire to know ſome particulars of that Collection of the Miniature Portraits of the ſovereigns of Indoſtan preſented by Mr. POPE to the Bodleian library at Oxford, inſcribed with his name and mine.

" WHILE I was in India ſometime before the year ſeventeen hundred and forty, one of the Mogul's generals was with an army incamped before the town of Surat, of which Tegbeg Khaun was then governor for the Mogul. On thoſe occaſions

the general never enters the town himſelf, but deputes certain officers to the governor, under pretext of taking cognizance of his conduct, but in fact to receive a bribe, in form of a preſent, not to make too ſtrict a ſcrutiny.

"TEGBEG KHAUN, who was far from being on good terms with the court, being obliged to proportion his preſent to the need he ſtood in of abſolution for the paſt, and protection for the future, ſent the general ſome lacks of rupees, not leſs than to the amount of three or four hundred thouſand pounds. But that ſuch a tranſaction may not appear too barefacedly what it always is, a corrupt bargain, the general uſually makes the governor ſome preſent, which is to paſs for a return. On this occaſion then the Mogul general ſent Tegbeg Khaun a ſabre ſet with rubies, emeralds and diamonds, worth perhaps at moſt three or four thouſand pounds, together with this Book containing a ſet of Miniature Portraits of the ſucceſſive ſovereigns of Indoſtan for ſeveral ages back. They are in colours, on vellum-leaves, and are copies from a ſeries of originals in the Mogul's palace.

"THAT they are not fancy-pictures, there is great reaſon to believe (independent of the preſumption in their favour from the circumſtance of their being a preſent on ſo capital an occaſion from one great officer of ſtate to another, it being well known, that ſuch a ſet of pictures actually exiſts in the royal palace, it hardly ſeems improbable that a copy was taken from them. And here it is obſervable, that the Mogul-moors have nothing of that averſion to images or pictures, which is even a point of religion to the Mahomedans in general. But theſe Moguls retain ſo much of their Tartarian origin as to tolerate all religions, and even to incorporate theirs of the *Thien*, ſuch as the court of China alſo profeſſes, with the predominant religion of whatever country they conquer; for the greater eaſe of preſerving their conqueſts by this political conformity.

THE

" THE portrait of Tamerlan (Timur-lang) in this collection, and perhaps the only one extant in Europe on which any dependence for genuinenefs may be reafonably had, feems to favour the belief of its authenticity, in that you may very clearly remark in it the diftinctive Tartar lineaments, a broad flattifh face, with fmall eyes. Thefe in his fon and fucceffor, are fomewhat lefs confpicuous, and, as the line of defcent proceeds, they melt by degrees wholly into the foftnefs of the Indian features.

" IT may alfo be obferved, that the Moors, or Mahomedan fovereigns of Indoftan, are in this collection diftinguifhed from the Gentoo ones, by the fafhion of the fkirts of their robes, which in the Gentoos, hang on each fide, cut at bottom into an angular form, as all the Rajahs wear them to this day for an enfign of royalty.

" HOWEVER, this book, fuch as it is, was by the governor Tegbeg Khaun made a prefent of to Mr. Frazer, the fame who, at my inftance and requeft, tranflated from a Perfian manufcript the account of Shah Nadir's (the famous Thamas Kooly Khaun's) expedition into India; and who brought home a curious collection of oriental manufcripts, moft of which once belonged to the royal library of Ifpahan, and had efcaped the rage and barbarifm of the Aphgoons, or Ophguan invaders, under Emir Veifs and his fucceffors.

" MR. FRAZER having parted with this Set of Portraits to me, I fent it to Mr. POPE, with whom I was then in correfpondence; and who wrote me, That judging it too great a curiofity for his private ftudy, he had done it the honour of prefenting it to the Bodleian Library.

"I NEED not, I preſume, inſiſt on how agreeable ſuch a diſpoſal muſt be to one ſo penetrated as I have ever been with ſentiments of veneration for an univerſity, which in quality both of a ſpring-head of learning and of a noble conſervatory of literature, is ſo juſtly conſidered as a national ornament and honour. But I now receive from that circumſtance a freſh pleaſure in its furniſhing me an occaſion of aſſuring yourſelf of the truth with which I moſt reſpectfully am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient

humble Servant,

JOHN CLELAND."

The following ſyſtematized *View of the Matters contained in the Work of* TIMOUR *was ſent me by my learned and reſpected Friend Mr.* HENDERSON *of* Pembroke College, *to whom my Thanks are due for this Communication, and whoſe own Words will beſt ſerve to introduce it.*

SUCH a collection as the following has been acceptable in the editions of various authors. I need not mention the *Penu Tullianum*, or the ſimilar work from SENECA. Hereby the moſt important parts are got together, more ready for uſe: and the book is brought, as it were, to a focus. In ſome authors this is more uſeful than in others, in none quite vane. If we may have nothing to learn from TIMOUR, it will at leaſt pleaſe the curious to ſee in one view ſeveral good things which his mind was acquainted with: we ſhall be pleaſed to know that he knew them.

To avoid ſuperfluity of bulk I have made but three heads, *Political*, *Military*, and *Theologic* — adding a few remarkable Events.

In *political* management TIMOUR ſeems to have relied chiefly on amuſing perſons, bribing them, keeping them in ſuſpenſe, and dividing them. He was acutely ſagacious, rightly provident and firmly reſolute. He was generally willing by any undeſerved

ferved or exceffive kindnefs to make and keep friends: he feemed not to know, but readily pardoned enmity and treachery. And fuch was his delicacy of fentiment, fuch the art of his addrefs that he cleared every fufpicion of the guilty and fearful; he covered the blufhes and foothed the confufion of the confcioufly unworthy. One fo qualified, with fo difcerning an eye, fo fenfible yet ftrong a heart, fo open yet powerful a hand, fo free yet fo forcible an addrefs, what wonder that he was great?

In *military* occafions his great excellence feems to have been hiding or magnifying his ftrength, furprife, varying his attacques, and obftinacy in keeping his ground. His *politics* availed him much in *governing* his army, and he often ufed prayers, his *oracle* of the KORAN, and other *religious* means to *encourage* them.

PARTICULARS in either of thefe parts are not here noticed; but the more generally applicable Sentences.

IN *theologic* matters I have been more fcant, not meaning a detail of Mahummudan principles. There are only a few notes, tending to fhew that religion every where has it's force, and is ferviceable to a general and prince.

I COULD have added *parallel* fentences from facred and other writers in moft places. But I thought it needlefs to thofe who knew them, and ufelefs to the reft. I only note TIMOUR's Maxims.

POLITICAL

POLITICAL MAXIMS.

TIMOUR's ends "Reduction of kingdoms, obtainment of empire, defeating armies, circumventing enemies, making friends of foes, going out and coming in among friends and enemies."[a] P. 3.

"In conducting the concerns of government take by the hand four assistants, Deliberation, Counsel, Vigilance, and Circumspection." 5.

"Requisites for conducting the concerns of empire are one portion, patience and forbearance; and one portion, pretended negligence and feigning not to know that which thou knowest." ibid.

"The experiened have said, By policy kingdoms may be conquered and numerous hosts may be defeated, which by the swords of united armies cannot be overthrown." 7.

"By experience it is known to me that Counsel and Deliberation, and skilful Measures, are only to be found with the wise and sagacious." 9.

"Though the conclusion of every worldly event is covered by the curtain of fate; yet, according to the holy word of Mahummud, in every enterprise which I undertook, I acted from Counsel and Deliberation." ibid.

"When my counsellors and my advisers were assembled together, I demanded their opinions on the good and on the evil, and on the advantages and on the disadvantages, of undertaking or relinquishing, the enterprise before us. And when I had heard their opinions thereon, I myself examined both sides of their opinions.[b] *N.B.* Every plan in which I discovered a twofold hazard I rejected, and chose that in which the peril was single." 11.

"After examining the avenue of retreat, enter on the execution." ib.

"Those are worthy to be counsellors who stedfastly adhere to that which they say and do." 13.

"Turn the ear to the counsel of the tongue, but treasure the counsel of the heart in the soul."[c] ibid.

When officers are sent to lay waste a province, and it is necessary to the province to gain time, the officers are to be amused with bribes and promises. 19.

They are contracted hearts and eyes to which presents seem great. 21.

If officers be known to have

[a] Of these ends the two last only are essentially good. The others are as their final cause. [b] Hereby, 1. He improved his own wisdom. 2. He had the advantage of every good hint — (And seldom does the wisest not need one.) 3. He pleased the courtiers by giving them the honor and importance of advising their sovereign. But by determining for himself, 1. He kept his counsellors from being too powerful. 2. From being envied. And, 3. Was more likely to have nothing offered him unreasonable or unplausible. [c] First be able to distinguish them.

taken

taken bribes, their prince muſt cauſe them to *refund the Bribes*, and diſplace them.[a] ibid.

People broken by oppreſſion, tho' readily agreeing with an oppoſition may break their engagements. Mauwur u Nuhur[b]. 33.

An army is the ſinews of empire. ibid.

A prince delivered from oppreſſion will ſometimes turn againſt his deliverer, ſuſpecting that elſe he may ſeize the government.[c] 47.

When a perſon aſpiring to the throne is known among the people, they will look with obſervation at him. Therefore he muſt pleaſe them. He muſt ſhew royal generoſity and liberality.[d] p. 65.

When Timour ſaw his people divided, and ſome not heartily with him, he ſent for theſe privately, promiſing each according to his particular deſires. But to each he appointed a *Kotul*, i. e. a perſon who ſhould ſucceed, in caſe of death, deſertion, diſmiſſion, or the like. By this act he engaged their hearts, he made them watchful to ſeem worthy their rank, he had a ſpy over them ready to tell when they deſerved diſhonour, and he retained two perſons by one place. 75.

Since GOD is one, and hath no partner, therefore the vice-gerent over the land of the Lord muſt be one only. *N.B.* This was ſaid againſt making confederate princes partakers of their commander's fortune. 89.

Suſpected princes are to be divided, that they may be weak. But one muſt be their reconciler to profit by their united ſtrength. 91. Ki Khiſſero and Aljauitoo Burdi. 93.

A friend in all places cometh to uſe. 103.

One obſtinately reſolved on reſiſtance, who is dangerous, may be won by ſeeming neglect, or indirect commendations, which he may hear. 111.

An ambaſſador of uſe to give intelligence. 127.

Unleſs it be quite neceſſary a prince ſhould not diſplace officers of his own promotion.[e] 133.

Timour having a deſign againſt Mooſi, complaint was made, and redreſs ſought againſt Mooſi from Timour, by the brother of a governor whom Mooſi had ſlain, and who had been Timour's friend. Timour put the complainant into cuſtody, ſeeming therein very unjuſt and giving great offence. Then he ſaid that Mooſi and he were on

[a] Perhaps this is not ſo good. For in this caſe, people might urge bribes perſuaſively enough on purpoſe to ruin an officer. Nor do bribers deſerve to recover money ſo miſchievouſly ſpent. — Would it not be better to put ſuch bribes in the public ſtock?

[b] This may admoniſh at the preſent time.

[c] As for example. There is a *poſſibility* of it between the (ſuppoſed oppreſt) Americans, and the (ſuppoſed deliverers) the French.

[d] At leaſt he muſt be better than he whom he rivals.

[e] *In ſome* caſes this may be neceſſary. As, 1. When they are known to be leſs qualified than they ſeemed at firſt. 2. When they act very wrong. 3. When they are too important. (But here is need of caution.) 4. When they are found treacherous. 5. When their removal is required by a more powerful. (But this being a phyſical or political neceſſity, not an ethical, juſtice, and the public good, are to be regarded as much as poſſible.) 6. At the remonſtrance of the people, where they have a part of the government,

good

good terms. Which Moosi hearing became secure, and obeyed Timour's summons. By this stratagem Timour took him, and afterwards punisht him. 137.

"I at all times thought that there was nought more worthy the *valor*[a] of princes than conquering of kingdoms and empires, and waging holy wars with infidels."[b] 141.

When seditions are not checked in time, they may grow to open rebellion. ibid.

Seditious people are to be divided by dispersing them.[c] 143.

Such discipline is to be kept that men and officers may maintain without presumption their proper station. 161.

A prince is never to be easy or secure. 163.

It is good to pardon, to be liberal, to be affable, merciful; but chiefly to regard the low and redress the injured. 165.

The valiant are to be distinguisht by a general. And a prince must favor the learned and religious. ib.

Those who labor to hurt others, are not to be admitted to intimacy. 167.

History and politics should be studied by a prince; that he may know what has happened to royalties and realms, and wherefore, and how it happened.[d] ibid.

A prince should learn the conditions of his subjects in all ranks particularly. 169.

For that purpose intelligencers should be dispersed, who should be condignly punisht for falsehood. ib.

The oppressions of inferior governors to be righted and adequately punisht. ibid.

Evil persons are to have scope till they make their selves manifest and odious. 171.

Not only good and great men are to be rewarded, but enemies and traitors on submission are to be pardoned and used as friends, till their suspicions are overcome and their hearts won. Especially if they are brave, wise and eminent. ibid.

One of various fortune learns neither to confide in friends too much, nor fear his foes. 173.

The man who is faithful to an enemy is honest, and *may* be faithful to the other side. ibid. And vice versa. 175.

A prince should make his laws according to the religion of his country. 177.

Teachers of the divine law should be appointed. 179.

The prince is judge of ecclesiastic matters. ibid. 181, et seq.

In weighty matters the divines are to be consulted about religion. 189.

A prince should attend to the minute parts of religion, and make a reformation when they are neglected.

[a] But a prince must be just and good as well as valiant. [b] This is not inserted as a maxim of true, but of Timour's, policy. Have all European princes been more wisely politic? [c] They may be separated without dispersion. And that will be as good. For instance, 1. communication may be cut off by lines of army and fortification; 2. some may be brought over and garrisoned, protected and privileged; 3. seditious people are the easiest to divide by suspicious hints. [d] Timour learnt hence the evil of tyranny and cruelty.

glected.[a] ibid. et ſeq.

It is important to have the approbation of thoſe who are eminent. And they grant concurrence to one who honours them, and courts it. 193, 195.

If a prince would be ſtrong and ſecure, he muſt attach to him the religious. 197.

When thoſe who have injured can be made friends, their injuries are not to be revenged, but forgot. If they ſtill will be evil, they are to be left for a time. Elſe they are to be overcome with good. 199, 201.

Princes ſhould avail their ſelves of the intercourſe with divines, lawyers, ſagacious perſons, holy men whoſe prayer is effectual, warriors, prudent and ſecret men, learned men in ſciences and arts, hiſtorians, aſcetics and ſolitaries, artificers and tradeſmen, and travellers. 209 et ſeq.

Soldiers and ſubjects equal, but one muſt not hurt the other. 209.

Wages of ſoldiers to be advanced, not detained, eſpecially in critical Times. ibid.

Inferior governors well choſen and ordered do much ſervice. 211.

Plenty and population are main ends in a government. ibid.

Merchants may be uſeful not for their wares only, but intelligence from various parts. 217.

It is good to reinſtate perſons who are conquered in their former rank in one's own ſervice. 217.

When merchants from enemies become ſubjects a ſufficient capital ſhould be allowed them. 219. The ſame of the peaſant.

A prince's words and actions ought to be his own, and his ſubjects and ſoldiers ſhould know they are not cauſed by the influence of any other.[b] 221.

A prince ſhould hear advice from every one. But ſo attend to none as to make him equal or ſuperior to his ſelf in ruling. ibid.

A king ſhould be juſt. But eſpecially he ſhould have juſt and good miniſters. Becauſe they can counteract his evil. But if they do evil, it will ruin him.[c] 223.

He muſt act reſolvedly and firmly: giving his orders in perſon, that none may dare or be able to oppoſe. ibid.

A reſolution, enterpriſe or command muſt not be altered. Even tho the conſequence is expected to be bad.[d] ibid.

[a] It makes him, 1. leſs ſuſpected; 2. more revered; and 3. gains him the influence of the religious. *N.B.* The reformation meant is only bringing again into uſe thoſe eſtabliſhed things which by omiſſion were obſolete. — The attention is to maintain and ſpread religion. [b] This Maxim muſt be qualified. It is a good one in an abſolute government, as Timour's; where the perſon, not the law, rules. But in mixt governments, where the law is underſtood to be above the king, it is more ſecure for the prince to let his ſubjects know that miniſters direct the government, and to give them up when demanded by the people. Unleſs in ſome ſpecial caſes. [c] This alſo belongs to an abſolute government. See the note foregoing. [d] This reſolution often brings affairs to an unhoped for iſſue: and ſo gives ſoldiers an opinion of the commander's being infallible and irreſiſtible. Which upon the whole may do more good than evading an evil by change of council. And it is better that a ſuperior do not ſucceed in a buſineſs, than that he ſo ſubmit to the ſubjects as to be expected or conſtrained to ſubmit again.

Too great a ſhare of government ſhould be truſted to none. Neither diſcretionary power. But government is to be divided into as many poſts as may be. Then every one's own buſineſs and watching over others will keep the ſupremacy ſafe. 225.

Rulers ſhould have and maintain a dignity of authority: a majeſty, which can overawe from preſuming at all againſt them. 227.

The power of every officer, even the moſt inferior, to be abſolute over all below.[a] 231.

The learned and divines to have ſubſiſtence from the prince. 235.

A province ſhould be inſpected on the third year. And if populous, plentiful and ſatisfied, the governor ſhould be continued. Elſe removed; and receive nothing for three years. 241.

Tax-gathering may be enforced by menaces: but not corporal puniſhment. ibid.

"The governor whoſe authority is inferior to the power of the ſcourge is unworthy to govern. ib.

Ameers to be tried by their Peers. 245.

Miniſters not to be condemned but on fair trial and clear proof. Becauſe many ſeek their ruin, either envying them, or plotting againſt their ſovereign. ibid.

Peculation in miniſters of revenue to be made good from their own fortunes. 249.

They whom a miniſter patronizes will deceive and betray him: whom he neglects oppoſe him. ibid.

Extortion and rapine in all caſes to be puniſht and righted by reſtitution. 251.

The eccleſiaſtic judge to decide of cauſes and crimes cognizable by eccleſiaſtic law. The civil judge to order the reſt. 253.

A miniſter ſhould be firm and generous, intelligent and ſagacious, be able to live in harmony with the ſubjects, be patient under difficulties, and cultivate peace. ibid.

Such a miniſter ſhould be diſtinguiſht by honor, a poſt of authority, the confidence of his maſter, and diſcretional power. ibid.

The miniſter equal to his office is juſt and moderate (concerning government, land and property) never *appears* a hypocrite, ſpeaks well of the ſoldiers and ſubjects, neither ſays nor hears ill of others, behaves ſo prudently as to turn a man's mind from bad intentions, and does good for evil. 255.

Office muſt not be conferred on the *wicked*, the *envious*, the *revengeful*, or the *ſeditious*. ibid.

If a miniſter be too compliant the worldly-minded will bear him down. 259.

N.B. That miniſter is wiſe who regulateth royalty by a juſt knowledge of mankind. ibid.

The dignity[b] of empire is ſupported by extenſive territories, by a rich treaſury and numerous armies. ibid.

[a] This belongs to an univerſity, or other abſolute government. And is beſt for ſuch. This ſhews how nearly approche ſuch government, ariſtocraſy and democracy. The mere ſubject has *many* lords. [b] The dignity, but not the true welfare. As little army as ſafely may: and well filled, not large territory, are beſt.

A good minifter in affairs of the empire, feeth not his enemy.[a] 261.

N.B. That is a valuable minifter who keeps in eye the population and cultivation of the country, the profperity of the fubjects, the ftrength of the army, and the fulnefs of the treafury. ibid.

He is a fkilful minifter who can, in fit time, divide or unite the fubjects and armies; who can remove the difficulties of his fovereign, and can bring the confufed matters of adminiftration to order. 265.

An inferior officer fhould not do the work of a fuperior; nor vice verfâ. 273.

The feveral officers of different departments fhould ftate to the prince in council the truth of the affairs under their jurifdiction: to be recorded, by official fecretaries for the council and a fecret one for the prince, in private confidence. 303. et feq.

Regular accompts to be taken of receipts and expenfes in each department. 307.

A minifter fhould (at leaft) do that for the king which he expects from his own fteward and Major domo. 313.

A good fervant does his duty, becaufe he loves his mafter. ibid.

A good minifter takes not affront nor meditates revenge for the flights or chidings of his prince: but takes his fovereign's faults on his felf.[b] 315.

The fervant whofe eye is on the gleanings of his mafter will overlook his duty. 315.

He who forgetteth his duty fhould be trufted no more. ibid.

"The fervant who in the hour of trial fearcheth after excufes, who on the day of enterprife demandeth his difmiffion, who keepeth his eye on the means of retreat,[c] and who transferreth till to-morrow the bufinefs of to-day, let the names of fuch fervants be held in contempt, and let them be delivered over to the Almighty."[d] ibid.

If a good fervant be any how put to fhame, let it be repaired. 317.

When one who had forfaken his mafter, returns of his own accord, let him be received with honor.[e] ibid.

That fervant, who was good and faithful to his former mafter, is to be received with honor, and promoted if he come to another: and the contrary. ibid.

When a fervant in policy *pretends* friendfhip to his mafter's foe, he fhould be confidered as a wife friend. But if it be earneft, let him be given to the enemy. 321.

When Timour conquered the kingdom of Tooraun, he behaved alike to his friends and enemies;

[a] That is, 1. is intimidated by no oppofition to his well-doing; 2. has no confideration of his own private enmities. His power is never the tool of his own revenge. [b] *N.B.* Under an oriental mafter. [c] i.e. His *own* fafe and advantageous retreat; not that of the adventure. [d] i.e. Be no more concerned with them. [e] How does this confift with the laft maxim but two following? Sometimes one is good, fometimes the other. Difcretion to be ufed. As in anfwering and not anfwering a fool according to his folly.

even to thoſe who had injured him, and had deceived him. So that his foes bluſhed at his generoſity. 323.

The like to thoſe alſo who envied him. 325.

If a tyrant govern another kingdom it ought to be aſſaulted, that it may be delivered.[a] 331.

Alſo if religion be diſhonored there. 333.

N.B. Where ſchiſm and faction abound the nation is near ruin. And it ſhould be invaded.[b] 335.

Timour informed his ſelf of the diſpoſitions of a people; and indulged their prejudices in his appointments of rulers. 337.

Buſineſs is not to be poſtponed: — lenity and ſeverity have their ſeaſons — the ſword is not to be uſed where negotiation will ſerve. ib.

" Dominion may be continued to the *infidel*; but to the *tyrant* it ſhall not be continued."[c] 341.

In conquered kingdoms, Timour reverenced the divines and learned, and provided for them. The rich and the powerful he held as brethren; the poor as his children. He exalted the nobles. He honored the ſoldiers and ſoothed the ſubjects. To the good he did good, expelling the vicious. He kept the baſe in proper bounds. He ſuſpended all between hope and fear. He opened the portals of equity, and cloſed the avenues to oppreſſion. 345.

He gave the government again to the ſubdued prince, holding him obedient by generoſity.[d] To the refractory he gave " a *vigorous*, *ſaga-* " *cious* and *upright* Governor." 347.

Thieves were put to death, ſeditious baniſht, and vagrants and buffoons kept out. ibid.

A magiſtrate watched the ſoldiers and ſubjects in every city, and was accountable for all ſtolen. ibid.

Guards were appointed on the rodes and anſwerable for loſſes. ib.

Soldiers were not permitted to enter forcibly a ſubject's houſe or ſeize his property. 349.

Proviſion was made for mendicants, that begging might be aboliſht. ibid.

N.B. *Particulars* of police are recounted after this page, which will not be noted here: only the more general and important.

Beggars perſiſting to beg were ſold into another land. 361.

" I ordained that the revenues and taxes ſhould be collected in ſuch a manner as not to ruin the ſubject or depopulate the country.[e] For that cauſeth a diminution of the imperial treaſures, and the diſperſion of the troops; and the diſperſion of the troops, an extinction of the imperial power." 361.

Charters of ſafety granted to conquered ſubjects. 363.

The ſubject paid one third of the *current price* of his commodities into the royal treaſury.[f] ibid.

[a] This may have limitations. *N.B.* Will. III. [b] When the policy or religion of a country is wrong, Timour would have it righted by a victorious foreign power.
[c] When *men* are injured they are more impatient (and ſhort-ſighted) than God.
[d] That is not always ſafe. The ſubject king has too much power and opportunity (if ſtill reigning) to hurt the conqueror. It is eaſy to obſerve that Timour was, like other men, ſometimes in extremes. He was too open or too artful. [e] A neceſſary conſequent on the former. [f] So taxes were always proportionably tolerable. But the exigencies of the ſtate are ſo different, that is impracticable; except by varying the tax

Soldiers were paid according to that price alſo. ibid. in note.

Whoever cultivated waſte land, or made an aquæduct or canal was free from tax the firſt year, in the ſecond what he offered was received, in the third he was regularly taxed. 367.

If a rich injured a poor man, recompenſe was levied on the wrong-doer. 369.

Waſte lands unowned were annext to the crown. If poor, inſufficient people owned them, they were enabled to cultivate. ibid. [a]

Bridges repaired and built: Inns ſupplied. ibid.

In every city a moſque, a ſchool, a monaſtery, [b] an alms-houſe, an hoſpital (with a phyſician who had ſalary) a government-houſe and a court of juſtice. 371.

An officer (with approbation of eccleſiaſtic and civil judges) took care of the effects of thoſe who abſconded, the inſane, thoſe who died inteſtate, or ſuffered as malefactors. ibid.

Property given to the lawful heir. If none, expended in public piety. 373.

from one commodity to another; ſo as that the moſt ſaleable bears the burthen. That cannot be where all are taxed in the lump. This is ſaid on ſuppoſition that the ſtate may want more than the uſual revenue, ſometimes. But one third is higher than any rate of taxation with us. [a] *N.B.* Our Commons. [b] Better a college, or the like.

MILITARY PASSAGES.

"ONE experienced and able ſoldier can direct the efforts of thouſands of thouſands." p. 7.

If a prince ſend an army againſt a foe there is a twofold danger, i. e. that his army may be defeated or revolt. But if he go with them, there is only one peril, i. e. of defeat. [a] 11.

Counſils tending to divide the ſoldiers are not to be hearkened to. And the dictates of fear are not to be regarded. 15.

One in war, having few men, ſhould abide in the deſert. 41.

If the men will not ſtay in the deſert the commander muſt diſpoſe of them, within call, and go to levy more. ibid.

"And the ſpirit of glory aſſaulted me, and ſaid, "Since thou haſt advanced forth with pretenſions to empire, even this is becoming the dignity and the rank of a king that thou reſolve on war. And that thou be either triumphant or be ſlain in battle." 63.

[a] Timour always preferred the ſingle to the double peril. "

" And I ſaw the duration of my power in this, that I ſhould divide among my ſoldiers the treaſures which I had gathered." 65.

" I ſaw it was good that I ſhould be quick and break their power before they could gather their army." 69.

" I found that my forces were not united with me. And to make them unanimous I ſaw it was good that I ſhould ſhew kindneſs to ſome, and that with ſome I ſhould diſſemble, and that I ſhould tempt ſome by riches, and ſooth ſome by promiſes and perſuaſions, and engagements." 71.

" I overpowered them at the ſecond charge. And as the night was come I pitched my tents on the ground where I was. And I counſelled with myſelf that I would not let the plain of battle cool. [a] And I conſidered that if I was guilty of delay ſomething might come to paſs which might cauſe me to ſtand in need of aſſiſtance. And tho Ameer Hooſſein was encamped behind me, I did not cauſe myſelf to ſtand in need of his ſupport. [b] But by ſkilful meaſures I defeated the forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and the men of Jitteh." 77.

" And I ſaw that they were going troop after troop. And my Ameers and my ſoldiers called for orders to purſue them. And I ſaid to myſelf 'I muſt delay to purſue them until their intentions be known.' And after they had travelled four furſungs they halted. And I diſcovered their deſign. Behold their intention was this, that they might bring me down from the mountain apart and aſſault me." 79.

"And on this account the honor of my ſtation urged me that I ſhould take the caſtle of Kurſhee. And certain of my Ameers counſelled that I ſhould go and ſeize it by force. But I deliberated thus, 'If I attempt to reduce it by a ſiege, perhaps my forces may be repulſed.' And in a ſiege ſeveral dangers occurred to my mind, and I rejected that meaſure. And I ſaw it was good that I ſhould turn my face toward Khoraufaun [c] until the hearts of the keepers of the caſtle ſhould be at reſt: and that then I ſhould return and march with ſpeed and aſſault the caſtle by ſurpriſe, and reduce it. And I marched and went toward Khoraufaun. When I croſſed the Waters of Amuveah, a Kauruvvaun arrived from Khoraufaun, and they were journeying toward Kurſhee. And the leader of that Kauruvvaun brought gifts to me. And I asked him of the ſtate of the Ameers of Khoraufaun. And I told him that I was travelling to the kingdom of Khoraufaun. And I diſmiſſed him. And I ſent a ſpy with the people of the Kauruvvaun. And I tarried on the border of the waters of Amuveah until the ſpy

[a] According to the different circumſtances the event of ſuch conduct may be different. [b] Sometimes it may be well to do at almoſt any rate without help, rather than make one, who might help, of too great conſequence. But ſometimes this ſlight may be returned by the ſlighted perſon's becoming as important a foe as he would have been a friend. [c] In a different direction. As if he were going elſe where than to Kurſhee.

brought

brought word that the people of the Kauruvvaun had given intelligence to Ameer Moosi saying, 'We saw Ameer Timour on the border of the waters of Amuveah, and he was going toward Khoraufaun.' And when Ameer Moosi and the forces of Ameer Hoossein heard this news, they were glad of heart. And they pitched their tents, and spread abroad the carpet of riot and dissipation. And when I received intelligence thereof I selected 243 brave and resolute, and tried, and experienced warriors from among my forces. And I re-crossed the waters of Amuveah. And I marched with great speed. And I alighted at the distance of a fursung from the castle of Kurshee. And I commanded that they should make ready ladders, and bind them together with ropes. And at this time Ameer Jaukoo kneeled before me and said, 'Many of our warriors have remained behind: until they shall arrive, delay is necessary.' And at this time it came into my mind that I should go *alone* and examine the castle. And I took forty warriors with me, and turned my face toward the castle of Kurshee. And when the blackness of the castle appeared, I commanded my warriors to halt. And I took with me Mubbushur and Abdullah, who had been born in my house. And when I came to the border of the ditch I saw that the ditch was full of water. And I looked round about, and I beheld a water-pipe. And water ran through that pipe to the castle, and they had laid it across the ditch. And I delivered my horse to Mubbushur. And I crossed the ditch on that pipe, and I came to the foot of the wall. And I went on to the portal, and struck on the door with my hand, and I discovered that the guards of the portal were asleep.[a] And they had filled up the portal, behind the door, with clay and earth. And I looked round the walls of the castle, and saw the place where the steps of the ladders could be fixed. And I returned, and I mounted my horse, and went back to my warriors. And the troops, who had remained behind, came with the ladders. And they were all armed. And they took up the ladders, and I turned my face toward the castle. And they crossed the ditch on the pipe. And having fixed their ladders they entered on the walls of the castle. And when 40 resolute men had entered the castle, I also placed my foot on the ladder and went in unto them. And they sounded their trumpets.[b] And I obtained possession of the castle. 95.

"And at that time news came unto me, that the Ouzbuks[c] con-

[a] Is not this excellent adventure disgraced by some rashness in this part of it? Timour might have been knocked on the head from the wall. The guards might have rushed out and seized him. This solitary part seems hardly necessary to the rest. At least another might have done it. [b] A common artifice, especially in surprise: that few men make a terrible noise. [c] An unruly, mischievous, oppressive tribe in Mauwur u Nuhur — the government of which had been taken from Timour, and given to Ouleaus Khaujeh. But Timour fought against them for the injured. See p. 25, 27, 29, 35, 61, 65, 77, 79, 81, 83.

tinued in the caſtles. And I ſaw it was not good that I ſhould ſend my armies againſt them. And I wrote a ſummons, as if from Ouleaus Khaujeh. And I gave it to an Ouzbuk, and I ſent forces with him. And I commanded them to ſhew themſelves, and to raiſe a great duſt. And when the Ouzbuks received the ſummons of Ouleaus Khaujeh,[a] calling them to him,[b] and ſaw the duſt raiſed by my people, they quitted the caſtles, night after night,[c] and fled. And the land of Mauwur u Nuhur was delivered from thoſe oppreſſors, who had ſought to ſlay me. And that kingdom ſubmitted to my government."[d] 105.

"Although I had determined to put them to death, yet as they were warriors, I ſaw it was good that I ſhould diſpel their fears, and employ them in war."[e] 109.

"And I ſaw my ſucceſs in this, that I ſhould throw the people of Khorauſaun into the ſleep of negligence. And I turned toward Summurkund. And when, from the news of my return toward Summurkund, Mullik Gheaus u deen had ſat down quiet, I reſolved thus, 'Now the hearts of the people of Khorauſaun are no longer affraid of me, I muſt fall upon them.' And I turned back. And I marched with ſpeed. And coming to Hurraut I took Mullik Gheaus u deen in the ſleep of ſecurity." 111.

"I ſaw my advantage in this, that I ſhould ſpeak fair to his ambaſſador, and diſmiſs him, and ſhut up the road to the Duſht,[f] and appoint an army to ſet out after the ambaſſador: And that on the day after that on which the ambaſſador ſhould enter the preſence of Auroos Khaun without ſuſpicion, whilſt Auroos Khaun ſhould be unprepared, my forces ſhould aſſault him. And even while the ambaſſador related his ſtory my victorious armies, like an unforeſeen calamity, poured on the head of Auroos Khaun. And Auroos Khaun had not the power to oppoſe them. And the Duſht of Kipchauk was ſubdued." 115.

No more army to be taken on an expedition than can be maintained. (Elſe they will mutiny or decay.)[g] 121.

"And my people were a hungered. And the army of Touktummiſh Khaun were full. And my chiefs and my Ameers ſet not their hearts upon battle, until my ſons and my grandſons came and kneeled down, and devoted their lives unto me. And at this time the ſtandard-bearer of Touktummiſh plotted ſecretly with me.[h] And I found it was good that I ſhould

a As they believed. b Perhaps to ſtrengthen his army for ſome ſudden expedition. c To keep it as ſecret as might be, that the caſtles were unmanned. d What became of the Ouzbuks who left the caſtles? Did not they go to Timour's army, taking it for Ouleaus Khaujeh's? Were not they then taken priſoners? Timour ſays nothing of them. e But they muſt be watched. f Why? To retard the ambaſſador? If he made it quite impaſſable, there muſt have been ſome other (probably longer or worſe) road which the ambaſſador took. g This admits ſome variety, when the army can be ſuſtained at coſt of the enemy — as in foraging or plundering the country. h See p. 175. for Timour's private opinion, and, in general, public acknowledgment of ſuch behaviour.

ſhould aſſault the foe. And that when the two armies were engaged, the ſtandard-bearer of Touktummiſh Khaun ſhould invert his ſtandard.[a] And when the flames of war and of ſlaughter aſcended high, I commanded that the tents ſhould be pitched, and that they ſhould prepare victuals.[b] And at this time the ſtandard of Touktummiſh Khaun was inverted. And Touktummiſh, diſmaid and confounded, gave the tribe of Jouji to the wind of deſolation; and turned his back on the field of ſlaughter, and fled." *123.*

When Timour's Ameers objected to attacking Hindoſtaun, he anſwered them ſaying, "I will ſeek the ſign of war in the Koraun." And they all conſented thereto. And this ſacred verſe came forth, "O Prophet! fight with the infidels and the unbelievers."[c] 131.

"I deliberated with myſelf concerning the Ameers, whether I ſhould throw them down from their commands. But ſince I myſelf had exalted them, I ſought not to pull them down. And I treated them with kindneſs, although they had angered me." 133.

"And the whole of my army was 92 thouſand horſe-men: according to the number of the names of Mahummud, the prophet of GOD. And I took this number as a fortunate and a happy omen." 135.

"It came into my mind, that if I ſhould reſolve on ſubduing the caſtle of Dehli, perhaps the war might be long and tedious. And I counſelled with myſelf, that I would make myſelf appear weak in their ſight: that the enemy might gain courage, and fight with me on the plane.[d] And I dug a ditch round my army, and I ſtrengthened myſelf within that ditch. And I ſent a force to meet them. And I commanded the ſoldiers that they ſhould ſhew their ſelves weak and fearful. And when the enemies found their ſelves powerful, they exulted. And they came into the plane. And they oppoſed my victorious armies face to face. And Sooltaun Muhmood, the ruler of Dehli, came into battle. And he was defeated, and he fled

a The ſtandard ſeems equally important in moſt armies. b David ſpeaks of a table ſpread in ſight of enemies. Timour did this to ſhew his defiance of the foe, and certainty of victory. This, if he gained the conqueſt, would give him confidence among the ſoldiers. But how if the already falſe ſtandard-bearer had been falſe to Timour? How if his ſeeming plotting with him had been really againſt *him*? This is one of the many riſques which heroes have been remarked for running. Had they failed they would have been called raſh. Having proſpered they are ſtiled glorious. It may be ſometimes *neceſſary* to dare at hazard. But events alter not the characters of actions. Nor is that the beſt glory which is acquired by chance. c Timour was reſolved in his ſelf. He wiſhed an omen that ſhould ſuit his reſolution. He was prepared to conſtrue a doubtful one in it's favor. Do Chriſtians always conſult their bible more impartially? Even in matters of doctrine, where paſſion and intereſt are generally leſs concerned? —This uſe of the Koraun is of the ſame kind with auguries and other omen-ſeekings. It is an addreſs to popular prejudices. It is applying a ſtrong motive. — How deſirable that princes in Chriſtendom would, at leaſt, as implicitly obey the more peaceable dictates of their goſpel, as the hero Timour did the warlike verſe of his fighting Prophet! d They were in the caſtle.

toward

toward the mountains. And ſpoils, and wealth, above meaſure, fell to my ſoldiers." 139.

"And I let looſe the brave men."[a] 143.

"I gave encouragement to my ſoldiers. And with money, and with jewels, I made them glad of heart. And I permitted them to come into the banquet. And in the field they hazarded their lives. And I withheld not from them my gold nor ſilver. And I educated, and trained them to arms. And to alleviate their ſufferings, I myſelf ſhared in their labors, and in their hardſhips." 161.

"I hazarded my perſon in the hour of danger."[b] 163.

"I kept my ſoldiers ſuſpended between hope and fear." 199.

"The chiefs and the commanders of my forces I admitted to my councils. And I raiſed them to exalted dignities. And I aſſociated, and converſed familiarly with them." 207.

"I loved thoſe intrepid warriors who had given repeted proofs of their courage and abilities.[c] And I propoſed queſtions to them concerning the art of war, and the various modes of advancing in the field of battle, and of retreat in ſituations of peril, and the methods of charging and breaking the lines of the enemy, and of ſkirmiſhing, and all the other operations of war. And I placed confidence in them. And I conſulted their opinions in proportion to their ſkill and experience." 207.

"The brave from among my ſoldiers I diſtinguiſht by gifts and honors." 209.

"I kept my troops in a ſtate of readineſs. And I advanced to them their wages, even before it was due." ibid.

"My ſoldiers of every rank I confined in ſuch ſort to their ſeveral ſtations, that they could not ſtep beyond the limits preſcribed to them." ibid.

"Relative to the various tribes who ſought ſhelter under my government, Thoſe who were ſoldiers I ordered to be incorporated with my troops, and entertained according to their rank &c." 217.

"And the genuine deſcendant of a ſoldier reſolute and brave, of whatever tribe, I ordered to be enrolled in the number of my forces."[d] 219.

N.B. Particular regulations for the army are here omitted. They are detailed, p. 229 &c.

"I commanded that if any one of my ſoldiers, exceding the limits preſcribed him, ſhould injure, he ſhould be delivered into the hands of the injured perſon, that he might retaliate." 251.

"By experience it is known to me, that he only is equal to ſtations of power, who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defeating armies: who in

[a] "Let ſlip the dogs of war."

[b] A part of character eſſential to a war-chief.

[c] Both theſe were neceſſary to make a ſoldier important with Timour. And a general, who makes *fit* perſons important, will gain as much conſequence as he gives.—The like is true in all governments as well as the military.

[d] Fortes creantur fortibus.

the hour of battle giveth not his heart from his hand, nor permitteth apprehenfion to take poffeffion of his foul: who can direct the efforts of his troops; and if their ranks be thrown into confufion can by his abilities reftore them to order: who can rule armies with majefty and authority, and who hath the vigor to chaftife thofe who rife in oppofition to his commands." 269.

A fuperior officer fhould not be fent on a fervice which an inferior can do. 273.

" Every one of the Ameers who from a fpirit of enterprife demanded employment, his requeft fhould be granted [a]. ibid.

" An atchievement from attention to perfonal fafety in the moment of peril fhould not be regarded." 275.

" The right of the warrior fhould not be injured. The foldier grown in years fhould not be deprived of his ftation or wages. The actions of the foldier fhould not be fuppreft. For thofe men who fell their *permanent happinefs for perifhable honor* are worthy of reward." [b] 277.

Every foldier to have the (extra) price of his fervices paid him.— Hoftile foldiers, captive, not to be killed, have it offered to ferve in the conqueror's army, or liberty. [c] — If a hoftile foldier, brave and faithful to his own commander, from choice or neceffity come under another authority, his good qualities and actions to be rated as if originally in the latter fervice. 279.

" I ordained, that whoever of my Ameers fubdued and wrefted a kingdom from the hands of the enemy, that for the fpace of 3 years the vice-gerency of that kingdom fhould be conferred on him." [d] 291.

The foldier who turns his face from the foe, muft appear no more. — He who on the day of enterprife demandeth his difmiffion, be in contempt &c. 315.

" If one fight valiantly and defeat his foe, let not the infinuations of the envious be heard to his prejudice. Permit not his glory to be concealed. But let it be exhibited in ten-fold fplendor." [e] 321.

[a] *If he failed, his own felf-willed temerity was the caufe. If he profpered, the fruit was the prince's.* [b] What a fale! What a fentiment! [c] That fhould be on promife to ceafe hoftility. [d] But care muft be taken againft his oppreffion and peculation. [e] For many good military directions, fee p. 375. et feq.

REMARK-

REMARKABLE EVENTS.

TIMOUR with 243 warriors ſubdued a caſtle fortified by 1200. P. 7.

He was once brought low. He had but 7 on horſes, and 3 on foot. He carried his wife (whom he calls "honored"[a]) behind on his horſe. He wandered in the deſert, and one night alighted at a well. Three of his people ran away with 3 horſes. So he had 7 men and 4 horſes left. Yet he was ſtrong of heart and did not lament. Then Aali Beg came upon him, carried him off and impriſoned him in a place full of vermin, with a guard over him. There he lay 62 days. Then he wreſted a ſword from his guards, attackt them and they fled. Upon which he preſented his ſelf before Aali Beg. Who being confounded made excuſes, gave him his liberty, reſtored his arms and horſes, adding as a preſent a lean horſe, and a worn out camel: but kept back part of his property. 35.

"And I implored All-mighty God that He would deliver me from that wandering life. And I had not yet reſted from my devotions when a number of people appeared afar off. And I mounted my horſe and I came in behind them. And I aſked of them, ſaying, "Warriors who are Ye?" And they anſwered unto me, "We are the ſervants of Ameer Timour, and we wander ſeeking him, and lo! we find him not." And I ſaid unto them, "I alſo am one of the ſervants of Ameer: how ſay ye if I be your guide and bring you unto Him?" And one of them put his horſe to ſpeed and went and carried news to the leaders, ſaying, "We have found a guide who can lead us to Ameer Timour." And the leaders gave orders that I ſhould appear before them. And they were three troops. And when their eyes fell on me they were overwhelmed with joy. And they alighted from their horſes, and they came and they kneeled, and they kiſſed my ſtirrup. And I alſo came down from my horſe, and took each of them in my arms. And they wept. And I wept. And we mounted our horſes, and came to my dwelling. And I collected my people together and made a feaſt. And on the next day Share Behraum, who had ſeparated from me, in the narrowneſs of his heart, arrived alſo. And he made excuſes. And I took him into my arms. And I accepted his excuſes. And I treated him with ſuch kindneſs that he came forth from his confuſion." 53.

"Ameer Sheikh Mahummud, the ſon of Biaun Suldoze, was always drinking wine and ſtrong ſpirits. And in the end the wine deſtroid him, and he departed from the world. And I took poſſeſſion of his lands." 89.

"When Ameer Hooſſein ſent

[a] Remarkable in the Eaſt.

unto me a Koraun by which he had taken an oath that nought was in his heart but friendſhip and brotherly affection towards me, and ſent a meſſage unto me, ſaying, "If there be ought in my heart contrary to that which I ſay, and if I break my oath and do evil unto thee, may this book of God ſeize upon me."[a] Seeing that I thought him a true believer, I put confidence in his words. And he ſent a perſon unto me, and a meſſage, ſaying, "If it may be ſo that we may ſee each other in the paſs of Chukchuk and renew our antient faith, truly it will be better." And this was his deſign: that by perfidy and treachery he might ſeize on me. And altho' I knew that much faith was not to be placed on his word or on his oath, yet out of reſpect to the holy Koraun I reſolved that I would go to meet him. But I determined that I would firſt ſend a number of my reſolute warriors and ſecrete them round about the paſs of Chukchuk, and that I my ſelf would go with another body of my people, and ſee Ameer Hooſſein And I ſent advice to my friends, who were the followers of Ameer Hooſſein, that they ſhould inform me of his deſigns. And Share Behraum, who was of my friends,[b] informed me of the deſigns of Ameer Hooſſein. And Ameer Hooſſein ſlew him:[c] and ſet out with a thouſand horſemen to come upon me. And at that time I had pitcht my tents at the entrance of the paſs, and this news came unto me. And I ordered my forces. And behold the Van guard of Ameer Hooſſein appeared in ſight. And my Kurrauvulaun brought word, ſaying, "It is the army of Ameer Hooſſein. And Ameer Hooſſein cometh not with them. For he hath heard that Ameer[d] is come alone, and he hath ſent an army to ſeize Thee." And behold I was prepared, and two hundred horſe-men were all that were with me.[e] And I waited until the forces of Ameer Hooſſein had entered the paſs. And I ſent a meſſenger to the people whom I had ſent before me, and I commanded them to ſeize the way of retreat. And I my ſelf oppoſed them face to face. And I encloſed my enemies in that paſs, and took many of them priſoners. And Ameer Hooſſein was confounded and made excuſes. And I had faith in him no more. And I was no more deceived by his words." 101.

"When in an engagement with Touktummiſh Khaun my forces were thrown into confuſion by the

[a] Was this imprecation implied in the oath, and only repeted in another form according to the Eaſtern manner? Or is it ſomewhat more? The oath only aſſuring that the profeſſion was as true as that by which it was ſworn. And the (ſuppoſed or real) book of God, among it's believers, is eſteemed the pureſt and moſt certain truth. Therefore to ſwear falſely by it is the greateſt crime. It is to ſay that a wicked lye is as true as the divine word. If this be accompted to incur the curſes of the book, the oath implies an imprecation. [b] He had revolted from Timour and was reconciled. p. 55. Yea twice. 87. [c] A reconciled foe, even a faithleſs friend (as in this Inſtance) *reconciled*, may prove a friend faithful unto death. Who then would revenge? [d] Timour. [e] About his perſon. Not including thoſe ſent before, and ſecreted round the paſs.

ſuperior

ſuperior numbers of the enemy, Meer Zeau u deen, noted for the efficacy of his prayers, bared his head and ſtretched forth his arms in ſupplication; his prayer was not yet concluded when the effects of his mediation became apparent." 207.

"When one of my wives was afflicted with a deadly diſtemper, 12 holy Siuds celebrated for their piety aſſembled together. And each of them devoted a year of his own exiſtence to her preſervation. And ſhe was reſtored to health: and enjoid the full meaſure of their donation." [a] 207.

"Several of thoſe in whom I confided, from envy and malice communicated fictitious tales to me, both in public and private, to the prejudice of Ameer Ubbaus; who was one of my moſt powerful and moſt faithful chiefs. And they kindled the fire of my reſentment by their falſe reports. And in the moment of anger I ordered him, unheard and unexamined, to be put to death. And in the end I diſcovered the perfidy of his accuſers. And I was aſhamed and confounded at my own conduct." [b] 247.

"Mullick Shaah Siljokee diſgraced his Vizzeer Nizzaum ul Moolluk, who was adorned with every great and ſhining quality; and appointed an ignoble and worthleſs man in his place. By the ill conduct, vicioufneſs and villainy of that miniſter the foundation of the power of Mullick Shaah was overturned." 255.

"Munguli Booghau advanced with an army againſt me. And before the engagement I ſent propoſals to him, and endeavored to draw him over to my ſide. [c] But he forgot not his duty to Tughulluk Timour Khaun. And he formed his troops in order of battle. And he charged my forces with undaunted reſolution. And he was defeated. And when he afterwards voluntarily came unto me, I raiſed him to an exalted ſtation. And ſuch were the favors which I conferred upon him, that if any reſentment remained in his heart, it was obliterated. And he ſignalized his ſelf in my ſervice, and conferred obligations on me. And when I encountered Kurrau Euſoof, in the moment that my troops were diſcouraged and thrown into confuſion he placed on his ſpear the head of a hoſtile commander. And he named it the head of Kurrau Euſoof, and called to my forces, that Kurrau Euſoof was ſlain. And he gave courage to my ſoldiers. And he ruſht on the centre of Kurrau Euſoof's line, and drove him from the fields." 281.

"When the Khaukaun advanced againſt Hurmuz, the ſon of Nouſharevaun, with an army of 3 hundred thouſand ſanguinary Toorks, that prince ſent forth Behraum

[a] i. e. Lived 12 years longer. Could not he get a farther prolongation of her life? or was he tired of her? [b] What muſt be the feelings of an honeſt, humane mind, in ſuch a caſe! From the horrible miſery of ſuch conduct how happily are thoſe princes ſecured whoſe authority and it's acts the laws define! What then is he who would be abſolute? knows he his own weakneſs? knows he the craft of others? or cares he not for miſchief? [c] Timour knew it would be for his advantage to ſeduce Munguli Booghau. Had he yielded to the temptation, Timour would have deſpiſed, deteſted, perhaps puniſht him.

Joubeen, who had been the minister, and the counfellor, and the general[a] of his father, with 320000 Perfians to oppofe him. And he engaged that prince. And for 3 days and for 3 nights the flaughter continued with great fury. At length he defeated the Khaukaun, and difpatcht intelligence of his victory to Hurmuz. And he alfo fent unto him the fpoils which he had taken. And the envious and the flanderous, who influenced the councils of Hurmuz, forged accufations againft him, faying, "Behraum hath fecreted the treafures of the enemy. And he hath feized to his felf the fword and the crown, and the bufkins of the Khaukaun, ornamented with jewels of price." And Hurmuz forgot the fervices of Behraum. And he credited the accufations. And he pronounced him a traitor. And, in token of his anger and contempt, he fent a chain to him, and a collar, and the veil of a woman.[b] And Behraum Joubeen placed the collar on his neck, and on his feet he faftened the chain. And he clothed his felf in the female attire. And he called the Ameers and the chiefs of his foldiers together. And thus habited he gave public audience to his people. And when they beheld Behraum they uttered revilings againft their prince. And they turned their hearts from their duty to Hurmuz. And under the banners of Behraum Joubeen they proceeded to the palace of the king. And they deprived him of his regal authority."[c] 285.

[a] In warring countries it may be often convenient to unite thefe characters. [b] How poor females are defpifed in the Eaft! Yet no where more loved. So do efteem and love differ. [c] Contraft with this Chughtai Khaun's ftory. p. 249.

THEOLOGIC AND RELIGIOUS SENTENCES OF TIMOUR.

VICTORY procedeth not from the greatnefs of armies, nor defeat from inferiority of numbers. For conqueft is obtained by the divine favor [and fkilful meafures.] P. 7. et feq.

"If the canopy of heaven were a bow, and if the earth were the cord[a] thereof, and if calamities were the arrows, if mankind were the mark for thofe arrows, and if Allmighty GOD (the tremendous and

[a] It appears hence that the convexity of the terraqueous globe was not thought of by the Caliph. He confidered the flat, horizontal furface of the earth as like the cord.

the

the glorious) were the unerring archer —— to whom could the ſons of Adam flee for protection? The ſons of Adam muſt flee unto the Lord."[a] 17.

Timour in all his actions ſought an omen from the Koraun —— his Bible.[b] 19, 75, 89 &c.

"And I gave praiſe unto GOD, and I ſaid unto my ſelf, GOD doeth great things for me." 49. *N.B.* So he ſays on all ſuch occaſions.

"And on that night, which was a holy night, I kept watch. And when the morning broke I was emploid in prayer. And after repeting the prayers preſcribed by the law I lifted up my hands in ſupplication. And in the midſt of my ſupplication I wept. &c." 51. *N.B.* He was then diſtreſt. Mark the good effect of this in "Remarkable Events." ibid.

"And the hour of prayer was arrived. And we prayed together."[c] 55.

"I opened the holy book for an omen. And this ſacred verſe came forth as a ſign. "How oft do the weak vanquiſh the powerful, by the permiſſion of All-mighty GOD." 75.

"The forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh ſpent that night in watching. And I in that night, on the top of that hill, was emploid in humiliations and ſupplications to the throne of All mighty GOD. And between ſleeping and waking I heard a voice as of ſome one ſpeaking to me, ſaying, "Timour, victory and conqueſt, and triumph, are thine." And when the morning broke I praid with my people."[d] 79.

"And at this time Baubau Aali Shaah came before me, and ſaid, "Timour, GOD All-mighty hath declared, that if there were two GODS in the Heavens and in the earth, the order of the univerſe would end in horror and confuſion." And I took warning by his words." 89.

"By the favor of All-mighty GOD I obtained poſſeſſion of the caſtle."[e] 99.

Timour having received an inſidious invitation, wherein he ſuſpected treachery and danger, yet becauſe it was accompanied with a Koraun, on which amity had been ſworn, out of reſpect to the Koraun he reſolved to go."[f] 101.

"And I reſted on the favor of the All-mighty."[g] 127.

"I will turn to All-mighty GOD, that whatever be the will of GOD, that I may do." 131.

"Having pitcht my tents to-

[a] This is applied to ſhew, one muſt repair to a hoſtile ſuperior, too ſtrong to be reſiſted, in ſubmiſſion. [b] This has been (with our Bible) an immemorial practice among Chriſtians.) (And a ſimilar among many people.) Auſtin notes ſome that took *Sortes* from the goſpels. (Ep. 119.) The ſame with the pſalms or goſpels, or any thing elſe, is condemned in Charles the Great's Capitular. (Cap. 4.) Cedrenus relates that Heraclus ordered his army to live purely three days, then opening the goſpels he conſtrued the place preſented as an order to winter in Albany. Peter Bleſenſis conſtrued a viſion of his from a paſſage opened on in the pſalter. (Ep. 30.) & plura, &c. Beſide the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, and the like. [c] Vid. Remarkable Events. ibid. [d] Immediately follows a ſignal victory. [e] This was after a moſt painful and perilous adventure. Yet he attributes the ſucceſs to GOD alone. [f] And eſcaped, having defeated thoſe who attackt him. [g] And proſpered.

ward

ward Hindoſtaun I repeted the prayer of victory." 133.

"Praiſe is due to the GOD of the univerſe, that He hath brought under my authority many of the kingdoms of the world." 147.

"May GOD be merciful to that ſervant [a] who knoweth his own limits: and who placeth not the foot of temerity beyond his proper bounds." ibid.

"And among the rules which I eſtabliſht for the ſupport of my empire, the firſt was, That I promoted the worſhip of Almighty GOD: and at all times, and in all places, ſupported the true faith." [b] 159.

"It is known to me by experience that every empire, which is not eſtabliſht in morality and religion, ſhall paſs away." 175.

"I appointed a man of holineſs and illuſtrious dignity to watch over the conduct of the faithful, that he might regulate the manners of the times, [c] and appoint ſuperiors in holy offices: and eſtabliſh in every city and in every town a doctor learned in the ſacred law: [d] and ordain ſalaries for ſuperior eccleſiaſtics and for holy men, and for men of knowledge." [e] 177.

"I commanded that they ſhould build places of worſhip in every city." 179.

"He put an end to thoſe diviſions. And by ſo doing gave ſtrength to our holy law." [f] 183.

"Encreaſe thou thy good actions that thy benevolent Creator may encreaſe his mercies to thee." 197.

"The different offices in an earthly empire are ſymbols of thoſe in the empire of the Creator. In which are laborers, agents &c. And they are all buſied in their proper departments. And they ſeek not to overleap the bounds allotted them. And they wait in perpetual obedience to the will of the Lord." 201.

"We cannot be profuſe [g] in our offerings to Almighty GOD." 203.

"I granted admiſſion to Theologians, and to holy men. And they reſorted at all times to my palace. And they adorned my imperial aſſembly by their preſence." 205.

"I revered devout and pious men. And I implored their prayers

[a] This was addreſt to Bajazet. Would all princes conſider and conduct their ſelves as the *ſervants* of GOD! [b] Thus far is right. But whatſoever is more cometh of evil. Support the true faith. Promote it. It cannot be enforced. To attempt that is the effort of a zeal not according to knowledge, ſet on fire of hell. The faith of force is not that which worketh by love. Therefore not that which fulfils the law. Much the ſame may be ſaid of puniſhing hereſy. The civil power ſhould puniſh civil crimes. What hurts the ſtate is a civil crime. Nothing elſe comes under the magiſtrate's vindictive power. [c] That was great authority. Timour (not to derogate from the purity of his intention) found his accompt in favoring the religious. They are important. And he gained their favor. 179 &c. [d] The appointer was an arch-biſhop, as it were. Here we ſee ſome regal power in the church. Indeed if a prince muſt ſupport religion, he muſt have ſome eccleſiaſtic authority. [e] "The prieſt ſhall preſerve knowledge." — Beſide all this power, this man had the appointment of judges and ſuperviſors of the markets. [f] Is this unworthy the attention of Chriſtians? Would not our ſtrength be ſtrengthened by union? Yet can we hope it? Scarcely while any among us, like thoſe divided ones, "fulminate curſes and denounce execrations" one at another. Much leſs, while, like them, any "procede to hoſtilities." [g] Taking that word in a bad ſenſe.

in the hour of retirement. And I supplicated their blessings on my actions. And in war, and in peace, and in my councils, and in my deliberations, I reaped the greatest advantages from their mediation." [a] 207.

"I united my self with holy and pious men: with those to whom the All-mighty had given wisdom. And I associated with them. And I heard from them the word of GOD. And I acquired knowledge of the blessings of a future state. And I saw them perform miracles and wonderful things. And I reaped delight from their conversation." 215.

[*Annotation* on the NOTE, P. 215.

Timour is often tautologic and indistinct. But I am willing to allow that the first, third, and tenth Orders were really different. (I mean that whether different or not in their selves, essentially, they were some how distinguisht then and there.) Yet I assent not to the distinction in this Note. None of these classes is said by Timour to live in seclusion. [b] And perhaps both the third and tenth might live so. The Eastern hermits are not more alike than the Western. Timour's variety appears to me thus. The first were regular, authoritative divines. The third were good men: whose merits and intercessions have generally been believed to avail. The tenth were such as moreover had extraordinary communications with heaven: receiving thence miraculous revelations, gifts and powers. These are really distinct in their selves.]

"Relative to the various tribes who sought sheltre under my government, I commanded that those who were Theologians should be received with reverence: and that all their desires should be fulfilled: and that they should be supported in affluence." 217.

"Thy good actions, and the blessings which the people of the All-mighty receive from thy hands, are equal to all the merits of pilgrimage and sanctity." [c] 263.

"In every nation He that feareth GOD, and worketh Righteousness, is accepted with Him."

[a] The notion that good persons are so acceptable to GOD, that for their sakes he confers favors on the less deserving, is not peculiar to the Christian or Mosaic œconomy. ——The blood of JESUS is said to speak better than that of Abel. Not that the latter, as some construe it, cried for vengeance. But the former was a better mediator. Abel was considered as a mediator, and petitions offered to GOD in his name. His blood was especially sacred.
[b] Solitude no more proves sanctity than sanity. Many a spiritual as well as carnal pest-house stands alone. — This is borrowed from Fuller's "holy state."
[c] Let this be set against superstition.

Plate 1

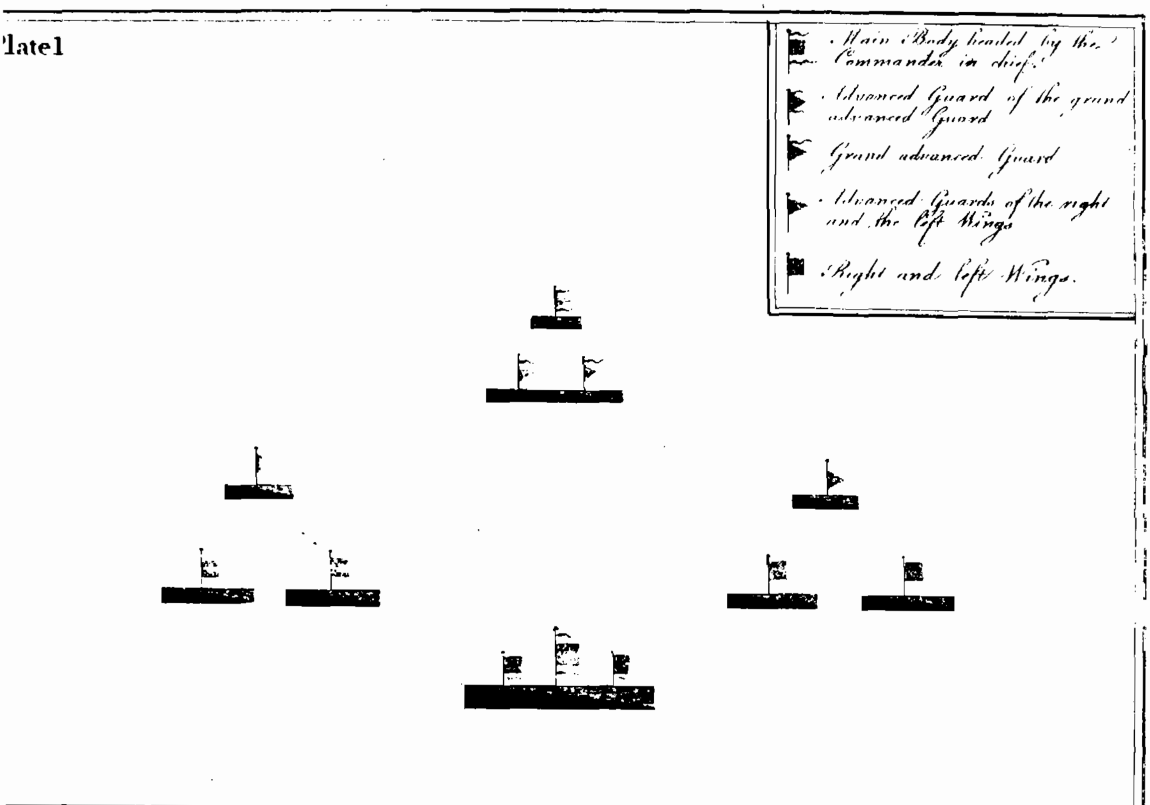
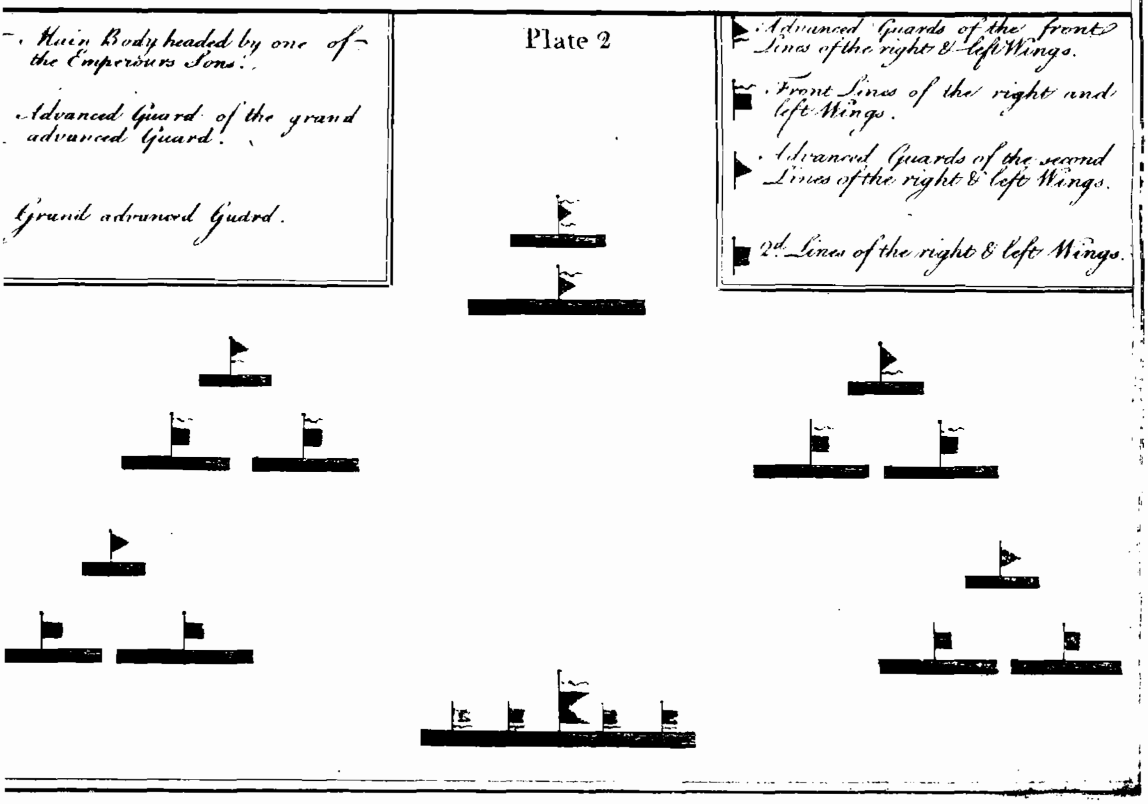


Plate 2



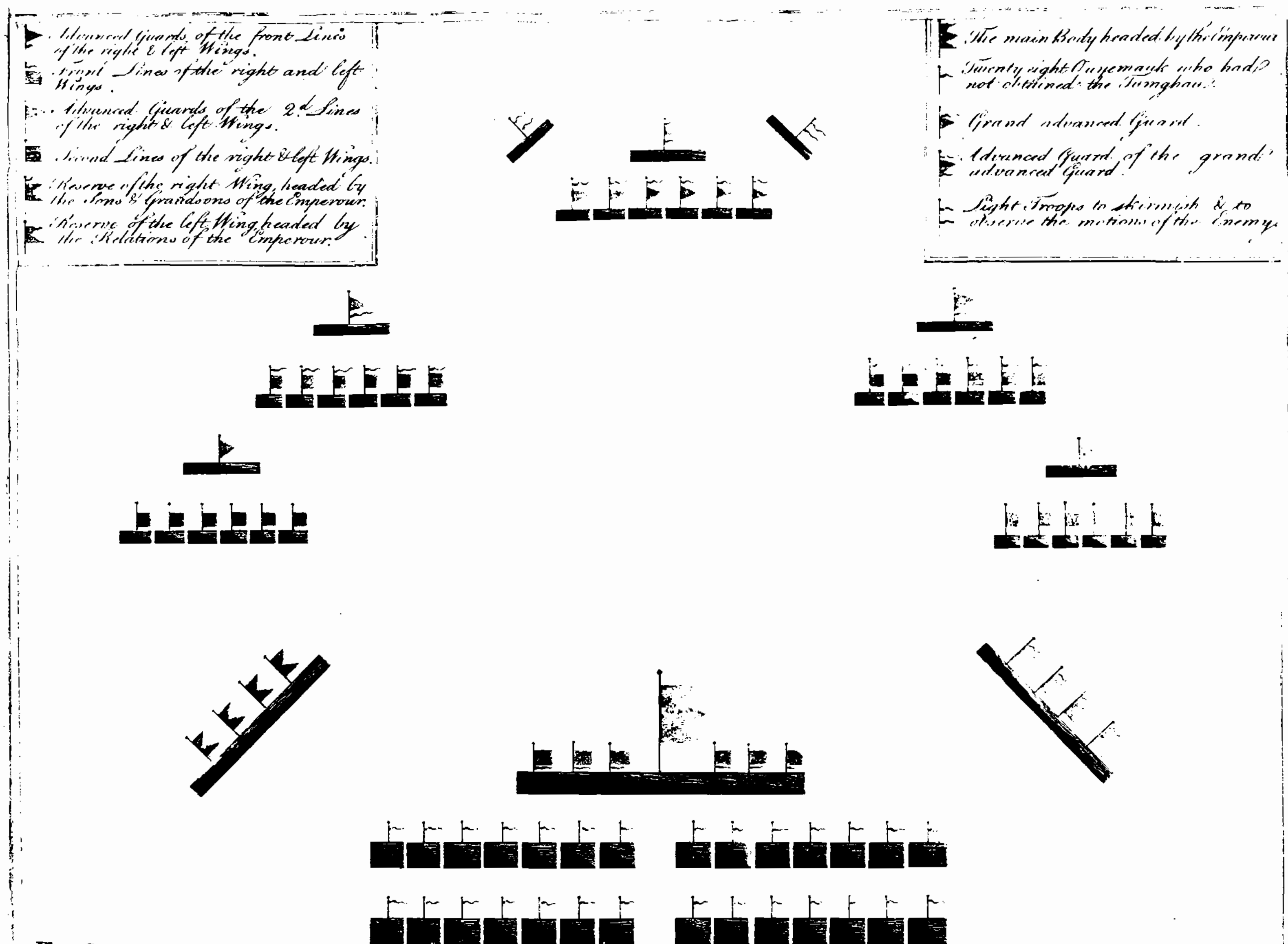

Advanced Guards of the front Lines of the right & left Wings.
Front Lines of the right and left Wings.
Advanced Guards of the 2.d Lines of the right & left Wings.
Second Lines of the right & left Wings.
Reserve of the right Wing, headed by the Sons & Grandsons of the Emperour.
Reserve of the left Wing, headed by the Relations of the Emperour.
The main Body headed by the Emperour
Twenty eight Ouzemauk who had not obtained the Tumghau.
Grand advanced Guard.
Advanced Guard of the grand advanced Guard.
Light Troops to skirmish & to observe the motions of the Enemy.

Plate 3

تزوكات تيمور

مقالت اول

في تدبيرات وكنكاشها

THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR.

BOOK THE FIRST.

DESIGNS AND ENTERPRISES.

مقالت اول

في تدبيرات وكنكاشها

تزوک وكنكاش * امور ملكگيري وجهانداري
ولشكرشكني ودشمن را بدام آوردن
ودوست ساختن مخالفان ودر آمدن وبر
آمدن بميان دوستان ودشمنان چنين كردم

* In order to account for the abruptneſs of this Exordium, it is neceſſary to inform the Reader, that this part of the Work in the Original followed the INSTITUTES, and by the Royal author was undoubtedly conſidered as a part of them, under the Denomination of DESIGNS and ENTERPRISES; which he appears to have given as Models of Conduct to others in ſimilar ſituations. But as it is preſumed that little more than the Name of TIMOUR is known to the generality of Europeans, and as this part of the Work contains an abridged account of his
moſt

Book the First.

DESIGNS and ENTERPRISES.

* THUS I formed meaſures and deſigns for the reduction of kingdoms, and for the obtainment of empire, and for defeating armies, and for circumventing enemies, and for making friends of foes, and for going out, and for coming in, amongſt friends and enemies.

moſt important Schemes and Enterpriſes, which conſequently lead to a knowledge of the genius, abilities, and extraordinary actions of the man; it has been deemed a proper introduction to that part of the Work, which may with propriety be ſtiled his Institutes. Another reaſon for prefixing this part of the Work to the other, is, that from the ſimplicity of the Narrative, it will (in the beginning) be better adapted to the uſe of thoſe who are inclined to ſtudy the Perſian Language.

که پیـــر من بمن نوشت که ابـــو المنصور تیمور در امـــور سلطنت چـــهار امررا بدست بگیرد یعني کنکاش ومشورت وحزم واحتیاط

که هر سلطنتي که از کنکاش ومشورت خالي باشد چـــون شخصي است جاهل که انچه کند وگوید همه غلط باشد وگفتار وکردارش سر بسر پشیماني وندامت بار آورد پس بهتر است که در تمشیت امور سلطنت خودرا بمشاورت وتدبـــیـــر عمل نماي تا آخر نادم وپشیمان نگردي

وبدان که در امور سلطنت یک حصه صبـــر وتحمل است ویک حصه تغافل وتجاهل بعد از تعارف واز کار کردن بعزیمت وصبر واستقامت وحـــزم واحتیاط وشجاعت جمیع امـــور میسر میشود والـــســـلام

وگویا این مکتوب هادي بود که مرا راه نمود وظـــاهـــر ساخت که در امـــور سلطنت نه

† Koottub ul Aktaub Sheikh Zine u deen Aboo Bukkur: a devout and learned man defcended from the Mahummudan Lawgiver, who foretold to TIMOUR the power and greatnefs to which he would arrive. It appears that this prince confidered him in the light of a ghoftly father, confulted him

FOR my PEER † wrote unto me, saying, "Let ABU'L MUNSOUR TIMOUR, in conducting the important concerns of government, take by the hand four assistants; to wit, Deliberation, and Counsel, and Vigilance, and Circumspection.

"FOR every government which shall be void of deliberation and counsel, is like unto a foolish man, who erreth in all which he sayeth and doeth; and whose actions and words bring forth no fruit but shame and repentance. It is therefore good that in conducting the affairs of thy government, thou act with deliberation and with counsel; that thou mayest not in the end be ashamed and confounded.

"AND know, that the requisites for conducting the concerns of empire are one portion patience and forbearance, and one portion pretended negligence and feigning to know not that which thou knowest—and that by acting with resolution, and with uprightness, and with patience, and with vigilance, and with caution, and with bravery, every undertaking will become easy and successful. Farewell."

AND behold this letter was a guide which pointed out to me the way; and shewed unto me, that

him on all occasions, and paid the most implicit attention to his counsels. *Peer* in the Persian language signifies *old* or *aged*; hence a *Father:* which is the appellation by which TIMOUR distinguishes him throughout this work.

of

حصه مشاورت وتدبیر وکنکاش است ویک حصه
شمشیر
که گفته اند به تدبیری ملکها توان
کشاد وفوجها توان شکست که بشمشیرهاي لشکرها
میسر نشود

وبتجربه من رسید که یک مرد کاردیده
شجاع مردانه صاحب عزم وتدبیر وحزم بهتر از هزار
مرد بي تدبیر وحزم است چه یک مرد کاردیده هزار
هزار مردرا کار فرماید

وبتجربه من رسید که غالب شدن بر
مخالفان نه از بسیاري لشکر است ومغلوب شدن
نه از کمي سپاه بلک غالب شدن بتایید وتدبیر
است
چنانچه من با دو صد وچهل وسه کس
از روي کنکاش وتدبیر بر سر قلعه قرشي که امیر
موسي وملک بهادر با دوازده هزار سوار در قلعه
وحوالي قلعه نشسته بودند آمدم وبتایید تنکري
تعالي وتدبیر درست قلعه قرشي را مسخر کردانیدم
وبا

of the requiſites for conducting the affairs of dominion nine tenths are Deliberation, and Counſel, and provident Meaſures; and that the Sword is one portion only. Book I.

For the experienced have ſaid, "By Policy kingdoms may be conquered, and numerous hoſts may be defeated, which by the Swords of united armies cannot be overthrown."

And by experience it is known unto me, that one tried ſoldier, of magnanimity, and of bravery, and of reſolution, and of ſkill, and of circumſpection is more valuable than a thouſand men who want diſcretion and knowledge. For one experienced and able ſoldier can direct the efforts of thouſands of thouſands.

And by experience it is known unto me, that victory over the foe proceedeth not from the greatneſs of armies, nor defeat from inferiority of numbers: for conqueſt is obtained by the Divine Favour, and by ſkilful and judicious meaſures.

Thus, aided by deliberation and foreſight, with two hundred and forty three warriors only, I came down on the caſtle of Kurſhee. † And in the caſtle and the neighbourhood thereof, Ameer Mooſi and Mullik Bahaudur had ſat down with twelve thouſand horſemen; and by the aid of Almighty God and by ſkilful meaſures I ſubdued the caſtle of Kurſhee.

† A city of Mauwur u Nuhur, or Tranſoxiana, Long. 99. Lat. 39.

And

وبا دوازده هزار سوار امير موسي وملك بهادر آمده مرا در قلعه قرشي محاصره نمودند ومن اعتماد بر تاييد ايزدي كردم واز روي تدبير واحتياط از قلعه بر آمدم ومرتبه بمرتبه جنـــك كردم وباين دو صد وچهل وسه كس دوازده هزار سوار را شكست دادم وچند فرسنك راه تعاقب ايشان نمودم

وبتجربـــه من رسيد كه راي وتدبـــير وكنكاش با مردي دانا دل هوشيار مي آيد اكرچه تمشيت كارها در پرده تقدير مستور است ليكن بر سنت سنيه محمدي صلي الله عليه وسلم هر كاري كه كردم بمشاورت كردم

وچون ارباب راي وكنكاش جمع مي آمدند از خير وشر ونفع وضرر كردن وناكردن كارها كه در پــيش بود پرسش مينمودم وچـــون سخنان ايشان را مي شنيدم هر دو طرف آنرا ملاحظه مي كردم ونـــفـــع وضرر آنرا بخـــاطر مي آوردم ومخاطرات آن كـــار

AND Ameer Moofi and Mullik Bahaudur, with their twelve thoufand horfemen, came and furrounded me in the caftle of Khurfhee. And I refted on the favour of the Almighty, and I fallied forth with fkill and with circumfpection from the caftle, and I affaulted them repeatedly. And with thofe two hundred and forty and three people I defeated twelve thoufand horfemen, and purfued them for many Furfungs.*

AND by experience it is known unto me, that counfel, and deliberation, and fkilful meafures are only to be found with the wife and the fagacious. Therefore, notwithftanding the conclufion of every worldly event, is covered by the curtain of Fate, yet, according to the holy word of Mahummud (on whom be the Bleffing of the Almighty) in every enterprife which I undertook, I acted from counfel and deliberation.

AND when my counfellors and my advifers were affembled together, I demanded their opinions on the good and on the evil, and on the advantages and on the difadvantages of undertaking, or relinquifhing, the enterprife before us. And when I had heard their opinions thereon, I myfelf examined both fides of their opinions. And I duly weighed the advantages and the dif-

* Furfung is a league of about fix thoufand yards.

کاررا بنظر اعتبار میدیدم وهر کاري که در آن دو خطر میدیدم طرح میکردم وکاري که یک خطر داشت اختیار مي نمودم

چنانچه من به تغلغتیمور خان صلاح دادم در وقتی که امراي وي در دشت جته علم مخالفت برافراختند از من کنکاش خواست وبوي گفتم که اگر فوج بدفع ورفع ایشان بفرستی دو خطر متصور است واگر خود متوجه شوي یک خطر ووي به کنکاش من عمل کرد ومتوجه دشت شد وچنان شد که بوي گفته بودم

ودر جمیع کارها مشاورت بکار بردم ودر انصرام آن کار تدبیر درست میکردم وراه بر آمدن آن کاررا ملاحظه نموده شروع در آن کار میکردم واز روي تدبیر وعزم درست وحزم واحتیاط وپیش بینی ودور اندیشي باتمام میرسانیدم

وبتجربه

advantages; and I confidered the perils thereof with the eye of attention. And every plan, in which I difcovered a two-fold hazard, I rejected; and I chofe that in which the peril was fingle. Book I.

THUS I advifed Tughulluk Timour Khaun, when his Ameers exalted the ftandard of rebellion in the Dufht of Jitteh. Behold he demanded counfel from me; and thus I faid unto him—"If thou fend an army "to difperfe and expel them, a two-fold danger may be "apprehended therefrom: * but if thou thyfelf advance "againft them, one peril only." And he acted according to my counfel, and turned towards the Dufht of Jitteh: and that which I had fore-told unto him, came to pafs.

AND I entered on every meafure with counfel and advice; and in the execution of that meafure I acted on a plan which was uniform and good. And after examining the avenue of retreat, I entered on the execution thereof. And by fkill, and by refolution, and by caution, and by circumfpection, and by fore-fight, and by penetration I brought that enterprife to a fortunate conclufion.

* i.e. If he fent Forces, and went not himfelf, they might be defeated; or they might be prevailed upon to join the rebels: but the latter, if he went himfelf, was not to be apprehended.

وبتجربه من رسيد که صاحب کنکاش
جمعی توانند بود که از روي اتفاق بر گفتار وکردار
خود عازم باشند واز آن کار بهیچ وجه
نگذرند واگر گویند نکنیم پیرامون آن کار
نگردند

وبتجربه من رسید که کنکاش دو
قسم است زباني وته دلي انچه زبانی مي شنیدم
گوش میکردم وانچه ته دلی مي شنیدم در گوش
دل جاي میدادم

ودر هنگام لشکرکشیها از صلح وجنگ
پرسش مینمودم ودلهاي امراي خود را مي جستم
که جنگ جویند یا صلح واگر از صلح سخن میکردند
منافع صلح را با ضرر جنگ مقابله مي نمودم واگر
از جنگ حرف میزدند نفع وفایده آنرا با ضرر صلح
ملاحظه میکردم هرکدام غالب در نفع بود همان را
اختیار مینمودم

وهر

AND by experience it is known unto me, that thoſe are worthy to be counſellors, who ſteadfaſtly adhere to that which they ſay, and to that which they do; and who on no account relinquiſh the meaſures on which they have reſolved; and who, if they ſay, "We "will not do this," keep far from the action which they have condemned. Book I.

AND by experience it is known unto me, that there are two kinds of counſel — that which proceedeth from the tongue, and that which proceedeth from the receſs of the heart. I turned my ear to that which proceeded from the tongue; but to the counſel of the heart, which I heard, I gave a place in the treaſury of my ſoul.

AND in times of hoſtility I ſought counſel relative to peace and to war; and I ſtudied the hearts of my chiefs, whether they were deſirous of war or of peace. And if they adviſed peace, I compared the advantages of peace with the perils of war. And if they propoſed war, I oppoſed the profits and advantages thereof to the inconveniences and dangers that might follow from peace: and which ever appeared moſt profitable, that I preferred and approved.

وهر کنکاشي که سپاه را دو دل مي
ساخت از استماع آن احتراز ميکردم وهر صاحب
کنکاش که مضطربانه کنکاش ميکفت آنرا کوش
ميکردم ومردي که عاقلانه ومردانه سخن ميکرد
آنرا مي شنيدم

و کنکاش از همه کس مي پرسيدم
ليکن خير وشر هر سخن را ملاحظه مي نمودم
وطرف صلاح وصواب آنرا اختيار ميکردم
چنانچه در وقتي که تغلقتيمور خان
نبيره چنكيز خان بعزم تسخير ماوراالنهر از آب خجند
کذشت ويرليغ طلب بنام من وامير حاجي برلاس
وامير بايزيد جلاير صادر ساخت وايشان از من کنکاش
خواستند که با اهل والوس خود بجانب خراسان
برويم يا رفته تغلقتيمور خان را به بينم من بايشان
کنکاش کفتم که در ديدن تغلقتيمور خان
دو نفع است ويک ضرر ودر رفتن خراسان دو ضرر

* i. e. Such as occasioned a disunion of sentiments among them, or rendered them doubtful or apprehensive.

† i. e. To Timour &c. commanding them to submit and come in to him.

‡ *Ameer* signifies a *Prince*, or *Leader*; and is a title given to all the nobility

AND I hearkened not to thoſe counſels which divided the hearts of my ſoldiers.* And every counſellor who gave his opinion under the dominion of fear, I turned my ear unto him: but to the man who ſpoke with judgment and with firmneſs, I liſtened with attention.

AND I aſked counſel from all: but I conſidered the good and the evil of every opinion; and from each I ſelected thoſe things which were juſt and expedient.

THUS when Tughulluk Timour Khaun, of the line of Chungaze, croſſed the waters of Khujjund with a determination to reduce the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, and iſſued mandates of ſummons in my name,† and in the names of Ameer Haujee Burlaus ‡, and Ameer Bauezzeed Jullauir; thoſe chiefs aſked counſel of me, ſaying, "Shall we flee into Khorauſaun, with our fa- "milies and with our hords, or ſhall we go and ſee Tu- "ghulluk Timour Khaun?" I counſelled them, ſaying, "There are two advantages and one peril in ſeeing "Tughulluk Timour; and in fleeing to Khorauſaun

bility of the firſt rank in the Mogul empire; alſo to the commanders of bodies of troops. Ameer Haujee Burlaus was the uncle of Timour. He and Ameer Bauezzeed Jullauir were both chiefs of tribes in the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur.

"there

است وبیک نفع ایشان کنکاش مرا قبول نکردند
ومتوجه خراسان شدند ومن در رفتن خراسان ودیدن
تغلقتیمور خان دو دله شدم

ودرین امر از پیر خود کنکاش خواستم
ایشان در جواب من نوشتند که از خلیفه چهارم
کرم الله وجهه سوال کردند که هرگاه اسمانها
کمانها کردند وزمینها زه آن کمانها شوند وحوادث
تیرها شوند وآدمیان هدف آن تیرها کردند
وتیرانداز خداي باشد جل جلاله آدمیان بکجا
بگریزند خلیفه در جواب فرمود که آدمیان را است
که در خدا گریزند پس تراست که درینوقت در
تغلقتیمور خان گریزي وتیر وکمانرا از دست وي
بگیري واز رسیدن این جواب قوي دل گشتم
ورفته تغلقتیمور خانرا دیدم

* i. e. By obeying the ſummons of Tughulluk Timour it was poſſible that they might preſerve their country from depredation, and enſure the ſafety of their families and effects, at the riſque perhaps of their own lives. Whereas by diſobeying the ſummons, and retiring into Khorauſaun, they would

لیکن

"there are two perils, and but one advantage."* And they approved not of my counfel, and they turned towards Khoraufaun: and I alfo was divided within myfelf, whether I fhould retire into Khoraufaun, or whether I fhould fee Tughulluk Timour. Book I.

AND on this occafion I afked counfel of my PEER; who in his anfwer wrote unto me, faying, "It was once demanded of the fourth Khulleefeh † (on "whom be the mercy of the creator), If the canopy of "heaven were a bow; and if the earth were the cord "thereof; and if calamities were the arrows; if man-"kind were the mark for thofe arrows; and if Almighty "God (the tremendous and the glorious) were the uner-"ring Archer; to whom could the fons of Adam flee "for protection?" The Khulleefeh anfwered, faying, "The fons of Adam muft flee unto the Lord? Thus, it "is thy duty at this time to flee unto Tughulluk Timour; "and to take from his hand the bow and the arrows of "wrath." And when I received this Anfwer, I became ftrong of heart, and I went, and I faw Tughulluk Timour Khaun.

would be banifhed from their country, and deprived of their Principalities; with no other advantage, but that of having fecured for a time their own perfonal fafety.

† The Caliph Aali.

لیکن در هر امري از امور که کنکاش
بر آن قرار مي یافت بقران فال مي کشادم وبحکم
قران عمل مي نمودم

وچون در دیدن تغلقتیمور خان
بمصحف فال کشودم سوره یوسف علیه السلام بر
آمد وبحکم قران مجید عمل کردم

کنکاش اول که در دیدن تغلقتیمور
خان از مشرق دلم سر بر زد این بود

که چون بمسامع من رسید که
تغلقتیمور خان بیکچک وحاجي بیک ارکنت والغ
تقتیمور کریت را با دیکر امراي جته سه فوج ساخته
بتاخت وغارت مملکت ماورالنهر تعین نموده بودند و
افواج امراي سه کانه در منزل خزار نزول نموده اند
چون کنکاش دیدم که اول رفته امرا را بمال
فریفته تطمیع نمایم که از تاخت وقتل وغارت ولایت
ماورالنهر عنان بکشند تا آنکه من رفته تغلقتیمور
خان را به بینم

وچون

BUT in every action of the actions of my life, on which I had deliberated, I drew an omen from the sacred KORAUN, and I acted according to the direction thereof. Book I.

AND when I sought a presage in the KORAUN concerning the seeing of Tughulluk Timour, the Chapter of Eusoof* (peace be with him) came forth: and I followed the direction of the sacred book.

THE FIRST MEASURE which my heart dictated unto me concerning the seeing of Tughulluk Timour, was this. DESIGN I.

HAVING heard that Tughulluk Timour Khaun had appointed Begchuk, and Haujee Beg of the Tribe of Arkunut, and Allugh Tuktimour of the Tribe of Kurreet, and other Ameers of Jitteh, with three armies, to ravage and lay waste the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur; and that those three armies under those Ameers were arrived at Khuzzaur, behold, I deemed it necessary that I should first go unto them, and deceive them by presents, and excite their avarice by temptations, that they might withdraw their hands from desolating and ravaging the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, and from slaughtering the inhabitants thereof; until I should go and see Tughulluk Timour Khaun. A. D. 1369. A. TIM. 25.

* i.e. Joseph. Alluding to the protection which that patriarch afforded to his family, when in Egypt. See Sale's *Al Koran*. Chap. 12.

و چون امراي مذكوررا ديدم سطوت
من در ايشان اثر كرد واز راه تعظيم وتكريم پيش
آمدند وچون دلهاي ايشان مانند چشمهاي تنك
بود وساوري كه بديشان دادم در نظر ايشان بسيار
نبود ودست از تاخت وتاراج ماوراالنهر باز داشتند
ومن رفته تغلقتيمور خان را ديدم ووي ديدن مرا
شكون كرفت واز من كنكاش خواست وانچه از
من شنيد همه را پسنديده داشت

ودرين حال بمسامع تغلقتيمور خان
رسيد كه امراي افواج سه كانه مبلغهاي وساوري
از اهالى ماوراالنهر كرفته اند ودر ساعت آن مبلغ را
بر ايشان اطلاق كرد و تحصيلدار تعيين نمود
وايشان را از رفتن ماوراالنهر منع كرد وايشانرا معزول
ساخت وحاجى محمود شاه يسوري را بجاي ايشان
نصب كرد
وچون اين خبر بمسامع امرا رسيد
علم مخالفت بر افراخته مراجعت نمودند
ودر اين حال به اغلان خواجه كه ديوانبيكى
وامير

AND when I came unto thofe Ameers, my power * made an impreffion upon them, and they receiv-ed me with honour and refpect. And behold their hearts, like unto their eyes, were blind and contracted, and the prefents which I gave unto them, feemed great in their fight: and they withdrew their hands from ravaging and deftroying the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur. And I went, and faw Tughulluk Timour Khaun; and he took my coming for a happy omen: and he afked counfel of me, and all that which he heard me fay, he approved.

AND at this time news came to the ears of Tughulluk Timour Khaun that the Ameers of the three armies had taken monies and gifts from the inhabitants of Mauwur u Nuhur: and he inftantly commanded thofe fums to be delivered up, and he appointed collectors thereof. And he forbad them to enter into Mauwur u Nuhur; and he turned them out from their commands; and he appointed Haujee Muhmood Shaah Yeffoori to fupply their place.

AND when intelligence of thefe things reached the ears of the chiefs, they elevated the enfign of enmity, and they retired towards their homes. And at this time they were met on their way by Aghlaun

* Having taken all his own tribe, and all the principal people of Mauwur u Nuhur along with him. Vide Fragm. Hift. p. 327 et 328. MS HUNTER.

Khaujeh

وامیر کنکاج خان بود برخوردند واورا هم از خود
کرده بجانب جته روان شدند

•

وهمدرین وقت خبر رسید که امراي
تغلقتیمور خان در دشت قبچاق علم مخالفت بر
افراشته اند خان مضطرب شد واز من کنکاش خواسته
روي بطرف دشت جته باز نهاد

وماورالنهر را بمن گذاشت ودرین باب
یرلیغ وعهد نوشت وتومان امیر قراچار نویان را از
ماورالنهر بمن باز گذاشت ومن بر ولایت ماورالنهر تا
کنار آب جیحون فرمان فرما گشتم واین کنکاش
در ابتداي دولت وسلطنت من بود وبتجربه من
رسید که یک تدبیر درست کار صد هزار سوار
میکند

* The prefident of his council.

† This circumftance is erroneoufly related in Aali Yezzudi; who fays that the Toumaun of Kurrauchaur Nooyaun only was conferred upon him, and that not by Tughulluk Timour Khaun himfelf, but by the *Leaders of his advanced guard.* Vide Petis de la Croix's Hiftoire de Timour Bek. Tom. I. p. 30.

‡ A Toumaun is a military fief capable of fending forth ten thoufand fighting men: it alfo fignifies that number of men collected together.

Nooyaun, in the Mogul language fignifies *a prince*, or *the defcendant of a prince.* Kurrauchaur Nooyaun was the fifth anceftor of Timour, and

Khaujeh, who was the Deewaunbeghee,* and the chief counsellor of the Khaun, and they drew him also over to their side: and they proceeded on their way to Jitteh. Book I.

AND at this time also news arrived that the Ameers of Tughulluk Timour had exalted the standard of rebellion in the Dusht of Kipchauk: and the Khaun was disturbed in heart, and he asked counsel of me; and he turned back his face to the Dusht of Jitteh.

AND he gave unto me the government of Mauwur u Nuhur,† and in this matter he wrote a commission and an agreement; and he restored unto me the Toumaun‡ of Ameer Kurrauchaur Nooyaun in that kingdom: and I became the ruler of all the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, even to the waters of Jihoon.§ And this action came to pass in the beginning of my fortune and power. And I found by experience that one skilful plan can perform the service of a hundred thousand warriors.

and the Vizzeer of Chughtaï Khaun, one of the sons of Chungaze Khaun. (Ghenghis Can.)

§ Thus it appears that Tughulluk Timour Khaun, who had advanced no farther than Khojjund on the river Sihoon, and was unable to prosecute the reduction of Mauwur u Nuhur on account of the dissensions which Timour had sown betwixt him and the chiefs of his army, and also on account of the rebellion of his Ameers in the Dusht of Kipchauk, took advantage of the submission of Timour to obtain a nominal dominion over Mauwur u Nuhur, by conferring upon him the title of Viceroy in that kingdom.

كنكاش دويم كه در عنوان سلطنت
خود كردم اين بود
كه چون تغلقتيمور خان مرتبه ديكر بر
مملكت ماورالنهر لشكر كشيد ونقض عهد كرد
وحكومت ماورالنهر را از من كرفت وباالياس خواجه
پسر خود سپورد ومرا سپه سالار ومشير وي ساخت
وعهد نامه قاجولي بهادر وقبل خانرا ظاهر ساخت
من هم بنابر قول وعهد بزركان سپه سالاري را
قبول كردم

* Kubbul Khaun and Kaujooli Bahaudur were twin brothers, and the ſons of Toumuneh Khaun. Kubbul Khaun was the great grandfather of Chungaze Khaun [Ghenghis Can], and Kaujooli Bahaudur was the eighth anceſtor of Timour, and the great grandfather of Kurrauchaur Nooyaun, mentioned before.

Thus it appears, that Chungaze Khaun and Timour both ſprang from the ſame ſtock, i.e. from Toumuneh Khaun; who was the fourth anceſtor of Chungaze Khaun, and the ninth anceſtor of Timour. Toumuneh Khaun was ſucceeded by his ſon Kubbul Khaun, and Kubbul Khaun was ſucceeded by Burtun Khaun in the ſovereignty of the Moguls.

And it appears that an agreement had taken place between Kubbul Khaun and Kaujooli Bahaudur (at the deſire perhaps of their father Toumuneh Khaun) that the former (who was the elder brother) and his poſterity ſhould ſucceed to the dignity of Khaun, and that the latter (who was the younger brother) and his poſterity ſhould always fill the poſt of chief miniſter and leader of the forces; and that the deſcendants of both ſhould, by this agreement between their fathers, be bound to live in conſtant friendſhip and amity with each other. And this is the agreement ſhewn by Tughulluk Timour Khaun, who was deſcended in a right line from Chungaze and Kubbul Khaun,

THE SECOND DESIGN which I formed in the beginning of my fortune and power, was this. Book I.

DESIGN II.

WHEN Tughulluk Timour Khaun drew an army on the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur a second time, and broke his engagements, and took from me the government of Mauwur u Nuhur, and delivered it over to Ouleaus Khaujeh his son, and offered me the post of counsellor and general to that prince, and shewed unto me the agreement between Kaujooli Bahaudur, and Kubbul Khaun; * I also, on account of the engagements and agreements of my ancestors, consented to lead his armies. A.D. 1370. A. Tim. 26.

Khaun, to Timour, descended in a right line from Kaujooli Bahaudur: who, on perusing the above-mentioned agreement, considered himself bound to accept the appointment offered him by Tughulluk Timour. Thus Timour, in *Fragm. of Hist.* p. 128. l. 3. MS. HUNTER, says,

در شهور سنه هفصد وششت ودو كه تغلقتيمور خان
مرتبه دويم به ماورالنهر لشكر كشيد نامه در بـــاب
طلب بمن فرستاد ومن هم استقبال كرده ويرا ديدم
ووي نقـــص عهد كرده ماورالنهر به پسر خود الياس
خـــواجـــه داد ومرا سپهسالار ساخت وچون مرا تيره
يافـــت عهد نامه قاجولي بهادر جد من وقبل خان را
ظاهر ساخت چون من آن عهد نامه را كه بر صفحه
فـــولاد نقش كرده بودند كه خاني بر اولاد قبل
خان متعلق باشد وسپه سالاري به اولاد قاجولي بهادر
ومخالفت

وچون ظلم وتعدی اوزبکیه در ماورالنهر
بسیار شد چنانچه هفتاد سید وسیدزاده را اسیر
ساخته بودند والیاس خواجه از سلطنت بهره نداشت
ودر منع ظلم وتعدي ایشان عاجز بود من از روي
سطوت بر اوزبکان غلبه کردم ومظلومان را از دست
ظالمان خلاص ساختم واین معني سبب عناد امراي
الیاس خواجه واوزبکان شد

وبه تغلقتیمور خان نوشتند که تیمور
علم مخالفت بر افراخته است وخان این افترا را
راست دانسته یرلیغ بکشتن من صادر کرد وآن
یرلیغ بدست من افتاد

ومخالفت یکدیگر نکنند مطالع کردم بنابر وفاي
عهد مخالفت نه نمودم وسپهسالاري را قبول کردم

i. e. "In the beginning of the year of the Hejra 762 [A.D. 1360] when "Tughulluk Timour Khaun drew an army a ſecond time into Mauwur u "Nuhur, he ſent unto me a mandate, ordering me before him; and I "went to meet him, and I ſaw him. And he broke his engagements, and "delivered over Mauwur u Nuhur to his ſon Ouleaus Khaujeh, and ap-"pointed me the leader of his forces. And when he ſaw that I was diſſa-"tisfied with his proceedings, he ſhewed unto me the agreement between "my anceſtor Kaujooli Bahaudur and Kubbul Khaun. And when I read "that agreement (which they had engraved on a tablet of ſteel) ſetting "forth,

وکشته

AND when the cruelties and the oppreſ- Book I.
ſions of the Ouzbuks became great in the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, (for behold they had carried into ſlavery ſeventy Siuds, and ſons of Siuds) and the power of Ouleaus Khaujeh availed him nought, and he was no longer able to reſtrain their cruelties and oppreſſions; in the ſpirit of authority I ruſhed upon the Ouzbuks, and I delivered the oppreſſed from the hand of the oppreſſors. And this circumſtance was the cauſe of diſobedience in the Ameers of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and in the ſoldiers under them.

AND they wrote unto Tughulluk Timour Khaun, ſaying, "Timour hath exalted the ſtandard of "rebellion." And the Khaun thought that the accuſation was true: and he iſſued an order to put me to death: and that order fell into my hands.

"forth, that the dignity of Khaun ſhould appertain to the poſterity of "Kubbul Khaun, and that the poſt of miniſter and general ſhould belong "to the poſterity of Kaujooli Bahaudur, and that they ſhould live in amity "with each other: I alſo to fulfil the engagement of my anceſtors, refrained from enmity, and conſented to lead his armies."

This note is formed from authorities found in Abulghazi Khan's genealogical hiſtory of the Tartars, in D'Herbelot, and in the Fragment of the hiſtory of Timour, p. 153. l. 9.——And the paſſages illuſtrated here and in the notes on page 23. will to the oriental ſcholar ſerve to refute the falſehoods of the Arabian author Ibn Arabſhaah, and to prove the ſuperior accuracy and authenticity of the life of Timour written by himſelf *over that compoſed by* Alli Yezzudi; *who has hitherto been conſidered by the learned of Europe as the moſt perfect and faithful narrator of the actions of Timour.*

وكشته شدن خود را معاينه كردم ودر
علاج آن چنين تدبير كردم كه جوانان بهادر
الوس برلاس را بر سر خود جمع آورم وايشان را بخود
متفق سازم واول كسي كه دست متابعت بمن داد
ايكو تيمور بود ودويم امير جاكو برلاس وديگر
بهادران از جان ودل اختيار متابعت من نمودند

چون اهالي ماوراالنهر از داعيه من آگاه
شدند كه اراده كرده ام كه بر اوزبكان خروج
نمايم چون دلهاي ايشان از طايفه ظالم اوزبكان
منحرف شده بود اكابر واصاغر اهالي ماوراالنهر
بمن متفق شدند وعلما ومشايخ فتوي بدفع ورفع
طايفه اوزبكيه نوشتند وبعضي امرا الوسات وقشونات
نيز برين معني اتفاق نمودند
وصورت فتوي وعهدي كه كرده
بودند وبر كاغذي ثبت نمودند اينست

* *Alous*, of which *Aloufaut* is the plural, fignifies *a tribe*, or *hord.* A true explanation of the Tartar word *Kufhoon* has not been met with. Mr. Petis de la Croix calls it a *body of a hundred foldiers:* but this interpretation is undoubtedly erroneous. The words *Kubbeeleh*, *Taueefeh*, *Ouemauk*, *Alous* and *Kufhoon*, (fome of which are Arabic) all appear to fignify *a tribe* or *hord*; but there muft be fome diftinction between them unknown to Europeans.

AND I reflected upon my danger: and to remedy the evil, this was the defign which I formed— that I fhould gather round me the valiant youth of the tribe of Burlaus, and attach them unto me. And the firft man who gave unto me the hand of obedience, was Eekou Timour; and the fecond was Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus: and after him other warriors, from their hearts and from their fouls, confented to receive my commands.

WHEN the inhabitants of Mauwur u Nuhur obtained knowledge of my purpofe, that I had refolved to rife in oppofition to the tribe of Ouzbuk; as their hearts were turned afide from that oppreffive people, both the rich and the poor of the people of Mauwur u Nuhur united themfelves unto me. And the religious, and the holy men iffued forth a decree, authorizing the expulfion and the extirpation of the Ouzbuks. And in this undertaking certain of the Ameers of Aloufaut and and of Kufhoonaut joined alfo. *

AND the decree and the engagement to which they had agreed, and which they caufed to be written, is this. "According to the conduct and the ex-

Europeans. The *Kufhoonaut* (which is the plural of *Kufhoon*) may here mean *bodies of military men drawn from tribes or hords*, as the word *Toumaun* fometimes fignifies. The number of the *Toumaun* is known to be ten thoufand; that of the *Kufhoon* may perhaps be fomewhat lefs: but it can hardly fignify fo infignificant a number as a hundred men. Several particulars in this work tend to confirm this opinion.

"example

که مطابق سیرت وصورت خلفاي راشدين رضوان الله تعالـي عليهم واجمعين اهل اسلام سپاه ورعيت وعلما ومشايخ وبرا كرام ديده ملقب بر سلطنت قطب السلطنه امير تيموررا ايده الله نموده اند كه بمال وجان در رفع ودفع وقلع وقمع طايفه اوزبكيه كه دست ظلم وتعدي به عرض وناموس ومال واسباب مسلمانان دراز كرده اند كوشش نمايند

وما در عــهــد وبيعت خــود درســت پيمان باشيم واكر خلاف پيمان وعــهــد نمايــم از حول وقوت آلهي برآمده داخل حول وقوت شيطان بــاشــيــم

وچون فــتــوي را بمن نمودار ساختند خــواســتــم كــه علم قتال وجدال بر افرازم وبر سر اوزبــكــان لشكر بكشم وداد مظلومــون از ظالمان بــكــيــرم ليكن بعضي مردم ارازل اين راز را فاش كــردنــد

وديكر باره خود بخود كنكاش كردم كه اكر در سمرقند بمقابله ومقاتله اوزبكان اشتغال نمايم

Book I.

" ample of the orthodox Khulleefehs, † (on whom be " the favour of Almighty God) the followers of Iſlaum, " the doctors, and the holy men, and the ſoldiers, and the " ſubjects, ſeeing Him noble and worthy thereof, HAVE " NOMINATED AMEER TIMOUR (the Polar ſtar of do- " minion, on whom be the favour of God) to the em- " pire: and with their wealth, and with their lives they " will exert themſelves in expelling and in driving out, " and in extirpating and in deſtroying the tribe of Ouzbuk, " who have ſtretched forth the hand of cruelty and ra- " pine over the families and over the wealth, and over " the property and over the effects of the faithful."

" AND we will be firm in our engagements; " and if we deviate from our agreement and from our " compact, may we be deprived of the grace and of " the protection of Almighty God; and be delivered " over to the power and the dominion of the devil!"

AND when they ſhewed unto me the decree, I was eager to exalt the ſtandard of war and of ſlaughter, and to draw down an army on the people of Jitteh, and to revenge the oppreſſed on the heads of the oppreſſors: but certain of the worthleſs revealed my intentions.

AGAIN, I deliberated with myſelf, that if I made war upon them in the city of Summurkund, it might come to paſs that the people of Mauwur u Nu-

† The Caliphs Abaubukkur, Omur, Oſmaun and Aali.

hur

نمایم مبادا اهل ماورالنهر کوتاهي کنند پس
چنين کنکاش ديدم که از سمرقند برآمده در کوه
مقام کنم تا هر کس که بمن متفق باشد نزد من
آيد انکاه جمعيت کرده بقتال وجدال اوزبکان
مبادرت نمايم

چون از سمرقند بر آمدم زياده
از شصت سوار ديکر کسي با من بر نيآمد ودانستم
که در کنکاش خود غلط نکرده ام
وچون يکهفته در آن کوه توقف نمودم وکسي
بمن در نيآمد خود بخود کنکاش کردم که بجانب
بدخشان رفته شاهان بدخشان را بخود متفق سازم
وسوار شدم وبخدمت امير کلال رفتم
ايشان مرا ارشاد نمودند که بجانب خوارزم عنان
عزيمت معطوف دارم ومن مال يکساله سمرقند را نذر
ايشان کردم که اکر بر اوزبکان ظفر يابم با ايشان
بکذرانم وايشان فاتحه فتح خوانده مرا رخصت دادند

وچون از خدمت ايشان بر آمدم همکي
شصت سوار با من بود وچون خبر نهضت من در
خوارزم

hur might ſhrink back from their engagements: therefore I reſolved to come forth from Summurkund, and to fix my habitation in the hills, that every one who was united with me might come in unto me; and that having gathered together an army, I might advance and make war upon the Ouzbuks.

AND when I came forth from Summurkund, ſixty warriors only came forth with me; and I ſaw that I had not erred in my deliberations.

AND when I had remained ſeven days in thoſe hills, and no one had come in unto me, I determined with myſelf that I would proceed to Buddukhſhaun, and draw unto my ſtandard the princes thereof.

AND I ſet out, and I went into the preſence of Ameer Goolaul.* And he directed me that I ſhould turn the reins of my intention towards Khauruzm. And I promiſed unto him the revenue of Summurkund for one year—that I would lay it before him, if I proved victorious over the Ouzbuks. And he repeated over me the prayer of victory, and permitted me to depart.

AND when I came forth from the preſence of Ameer Goolaul, ſixty horſemen were all that were with me. And when the news of my arrival in Khauruzm reached the ears of Ouleaus Khaujeh, he wrote

* A religious man, celebrated for his piety.

خوارزم بالیاس خواجه رسید به تکل بهادر حاکم
خیوق نوشت که بر سر من آمده مرا ضایع سازد
وتکل بهادر با هزار سوار بر سر من آمد ومن با
شصت سوار خود وبا امیر حسین که در راه آمده بمن
ملحق شده بود رو برو شدم وبجنگ در آمدم وتا
بحدی جنگ وکوشش نمودم که از هزار کس وی
پنجاه کس ماند واز شصت سوار من ده کس ماند
تا آنکه در معنی فتح از جانب من شد

وچون خبر فتح من بمسامع الیاس
خواجه وامرا جته رسید باهم گفتند که تیمور عجب
مردی وصاحب اقبال وتاییدات است واین فتح را بر
خود شکون * گرفتم وچشم اوزبکان از من تیره شد

کنکاش سیوم که در اصلاح سلطنت
خود کردم این بود

که در آن وقت که احوال دولت من
مختل شد واساس سلطنت من از هم گسیخته شد
چنانچه زیاده از ده کس همراه من نبود که هفت
کس سوار بودند وسه پیاده وجز آنها کسی دیگر
با من نماند وهمشیره امیر حسین که حرم محترم

* An afterisk placed after a word (in the Perfian text) fignifies that it is of Mogul origin.

من

unto Tukkul Bahaudur the governor of Khiook, that he ſhould fall upon me and deſtroy me. And Tukkul Bahaudur came upon me with a thouſand horſemen: and I oppoſed him with my ſixty warriors, and with Ameer Hooſſein who had come and joined me in the way; and I entered into battle. And I fought with ſuch obſtinacy and reſolution, that of the one thouſand horſemen of Tukkul Bahaudur fifty remained, and of my ſixty warriors ten remained; and the victory in effect was mine. Book I.

AND when the news of my ſucceſs reached the ears of Ouleaus Khaujeh and the Ameers of Jitteh, they ſaid among themſelves, "Timour is a wonderful man: fortune and the Divine favour are with him." And I called this victory a favour from heaven conferred upon me: and the eyes of the tribe of Jitteh were darkened by my ſucceſs.

DESIGN III.

THE THIRD DESIGN which I formed for the reſtoration of my power, was this.

AT the time when the ſtate of my fortune was reduced low, and when the foundation of my power was broken aſunder, ſo that my aſſociates were ten only (and ſeven of them were on horſes, and three of them were foot-men) and none other remained with me; in thoſe days the ſiſter of Ameer Hooſſein, who was my honoured wife, I placed behind me on my horſe, and I wandered

من بود ویرا با خود بر اسپ خود سوار ساخته بودم
ودر صحراي خوارزم سر کردان می کشتم تا آنکه شبي
بسر چاهي فرود آمدم وهمان شب آن سه نفر خراسانی
بیوفا سه اسپ را کرفته وسوار شده کریختند ودر میان
هفت کس چهار اسپ ماند واحوال من بسیار مختل
شد لیکن قوي دل بودم وافشاي خطا نکردم

واز سر آن چاه روان شدم ودر این وقت
علـی بیک چون غرباني بر سر من آمد ومرا برده
در خانه پر از کیک محبوس ساخت ونکاهبانان بر
من تعیین نمود وششت ودو روز مرا در قید نکاهداشت
وخود بخود کنکاش کردم وبتایید آلهي
موید شده بقوت بازوي جلادت شمشیري از
نکاهبانان کشیده بر ایشان حمله آوردم ونکاهبانان
روي بکریز نهادند ومن پیش علي بیک رفته ایستادم
ووي از عمل نا شایسته خود که مرا مقید ساخته
بود شرمنده ومنفعل شد وعذر خواست
واسپان ویراق مرا حاضر آورد ویک اسپ
لاغر ویک اشتر نا توان آورده بمن پیشکش نمود
وارمغان که برادرش محمد بیک بمن فرستاده بود
در آن طمع نمود وپاره نکاهداشت ومرا رخصت نمود
وبجانب

wandered to and fro in the defart of Khauruzm, until on a certain night I alighted at a well. And even in that night the three faithlefs Khoraufauni * feized on three horfes, and mounted them and fled: and four horfes only remained for feven people, and my diftreffes were very great: but I was ftrong of heart, and I lamented not over my misfortunes. Book I.

AND I departed from the well; and at this time Aali Beg Choun Ghoorbauni came upon me, and he carried me away, and confined me in a habitation filled with vermin, and placed a guard over me, and kept me imprifoned for fixty and two days.

AND I deliberated with myfelf, and aided by the affiftance of Almighty God, with the ftrength of the arm of vigour I wrefted a fword from my guards and I rufhed upon them: and the guards turned their faces to flight, and I went and ftood before Aali Beg. And he was afhamed and confounded at his evil conduct, that he had thrown me into prifon; and he made excufes.

AND he ordered my horfes and my arms to be brought forth; and he gave me a horfe that was lean, and a camel that was paft fervice as a prefent. But he thirfted after the gifts which his brother Mahummud Beg had fent unto me, and he kept back a part thereof; and he fuffered me to depart.

* Natives of Khoraufaun.

AND

وبجانب بيابان خوارزم روان شدم

ودوازده سوار بر سر من جمع آمدند وبعد از دو روز
بموضعي رسيدم ودر خانه نزول نمودم وجمعي از
ترکمانان که در آن موضع مي بودند اغري * کفته
بر من حمله آوردند ومن همشيره امير حسين را در
خانه مضبوط ساختم وبذات خود بر آن جماعه حمله
کردم ودر اين وقت شخصي حاجي محمد نام که
در ميان ترکمانان بود مرا بشناخت وفرياد بر آورد
که امير تيمور است ومردم را از جنک منع کرده زانوزد
ومن ويرا تسلي کردم ومنديل خودرا بر سر وي
نهادم ووي آمده با برادران خود ملازم من شد

کنکاش چهارم که در اوايل سلطنت
خود کردم اين بود

که چون شش سوار نزد من جمع
آمدند بخود کنکاش کردم که اکر در موضعي که
رسيده بودم اقامت نمايم مبادا اهل آن موضع دست

* The word thus tranflated is in the original *Aghuri*, and evidently of Mogul origin. The Mogul language is, in this work and in moft other oriental authors, called *Toori Zubaun* and *Zubaun a Toorki*, or the language of the Toorks. But notwithftanding the language, known in Europe by the name of Turkifh, muft have been derived from the fame origin, this and feveral other Mogul words retained by the Perfian tranflator in

تطاول

And I ſet out toward the deſart of Khauruzm, and twelve horſemen united themſelves unto me. And after two days I came to an inhabited place, and I alighted at one of the dwellings thereof. And certain of the Toorkummauns, who were in that place, gave a loud ſhout,* and ruſhed upon me. And I ſecured the ſiſter of Ameer Hooſſein in the houſe, and I aſſaulted thoſe people in my own perſon. And at this time a man among the Toorkummauns, whoſe name was Haujee Mahummud, knew me again; and he exclaimed aloud, "It is Ameer "Timour." And he ordered the people to deſiſt, and he kneeled before me. And I received him kindly, and I placed my turban on his head; and he came with his brethren, and was my ſervant.

Design IV.

The fourth design which I formed in the early days of my power, was this.

When ſixty horſemen were gathered round me, I reflected with myſelf, that if I continued in the place where I then ſojourned, perhaps the inhabitants thereof might extend the hand of treachery over me, and ſend news of my condition to the tribe of Jitteh.

in this work, are not to be found in any Lexicon, and are conſequently unknown. Where the probable ſenſe is diſcoverable from the context, as in the preſent caſe, an interpretation is given in the tranſlation; and whereever the meaning is beyond the reach of conjecture, the Mogul word is retained in the verſion; its origin in both caſes being marked for the benefit of the Perſian ſcholar. See note on pag. 34.

And

تطاول بر من دراز کنند وخبر مرا در اوزبکان فرستند وصلاح حال خود در این دیدم که از آن موضع بر آیم ودر صحراي که از معموره دور باشد نزول نمایم تا آنکه لشکر که بازوي سلطنت است نزد من جمع آید

واز آن موضع بجانب خراسان متوجه شدم ودر راه مبارک شاه سنجري حاکم ماخان با یکصد سوار نزد من آمد واسپان خوب پیشکش کرد وجمعي از سادات واهالي نیز بمن ملحق کشتند وقریب دو صد نفر سوار وپیاده در آن صحرا با من همراه کشت

ودرینوقت مبارک شاه وسید حسن وسید ضیاء الدین بمن عرض کردند که توقف نمودن درین صحرا باعث پریشاني است بطرفي باید رفت وولایتي جهت بودن مسخر باید ساخت ومن خود بخود کنکاش کردم وبا ایشان کفتم که بخاطرم این کنکاش رسیده که متوجه طرف سمرقند شویم وشهابانرا در موضع مضافات بخارا متفرق سازم وخود بحوالي سمرقند رفته وبمیان اهل والوسات در آمده ایشانرا بخود متفق سازم ولشکري جمع ساخته وشهابانرا طلب داشته با لشکر جته والیاس خواجه درافتم ومملکت ماورالنهر را مسخر سازم

ایشان

And I ſaw that my ſafety conſiſted in this — that I ſhould come forth from that place, and that I ſhould ſojourn in the deſart, far from the habitations of men; until an army, which is the ſinews of Empire, ſhould be gathered around me. Book I.

And I journeyed from that place toward Khorauſaun; and Mubauruk Shaah Sunjuri, the governor of Maukhaun, came to me on the way with an hundred ſoldiers, and preſented ſome choſen horſes to me: and certain of the deſcendants of the prophet and of the inhabitants alſo came in unto me; and near two hundred men, horſe-men and foot-men, joined me in the deſart.

And at this time Mubauruk Shaah, and Siud Hooſun, and Siud Zeau u deen ſaid unto me, "Our tarrying in this deſart is the cauſe of our diſtreſs; "we muſt go from hence, and we muſt ſeize on ſome "Province for an habitation." And I deliberated with myſelf, and I ſaid unto them, "This meaſure occurreth "to my mind — that we advance towards Summurkund, "and that I diſperſe you in the ſecure places of Bokh-"aura; and that I myſelf go into the parts adjacent to "Summurkund, and enter among the people and the "tribes, and unite them with me: and having collected "an army, and called you unto me, that I encounter "Ouleaus Khaujeh and the forces of Jitteh, and ſubdue "the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur."

ایشان همکي این کنکاش وتدبیر مرا
پسندیدند ودرین عزیمت فاتح خوانده روان شدم
واین دو صد کس را در حوالي بخارا متفرق ساختم
والجاي ترکان آغا همشیره امیر حسین را پنهاني در
آن موضع کذاشتم ومتوجه سمرقند شدم

وتیموکه توچین با پانزده سوار آمده در
راه بمن ملحق شد وراز خودرا بوي کفته ویرا نزد
مبارک شاه فرستادم وخود میان الوسات در آمده قریب
دو هزار کس را با خود متفق ساختم که هرکاه در
سمرقند علم سلطنت برافرازم ایشان خودرا برسانند

وشب پنهانی داخل شهر سمرقند شدم
وبخانه تنلغ ترکان اغاي خواهر کلان خود رفته
نزول نمودم وشب وروز در فکر وتدبیر بودم وچهل
وهشت روز پنهاني کذرانیدم تا آنکه بعضي از اهالي
شهر بر آمدن من اطلاع نمودند ونزدیک بود که
سر من فاش شود ناچار با پنجاه سوار که در شهر
با من بودند شب از سمرقند بر آمده بطرف خوارزم
متوجه شدم وجمعي از پیادکان هم با من رفاقت
کردند

THEY all approved of my counſel and my deſign; and having repeated the prayer of ſucceſs on our attempt, I proceeded forward. And I diſperſed thoſe two hundred people in the environs of Bokhaura, and I ſecreted Aljaié Turkaun Aughau, the ſiſter of Ameer Hooſſein, in that place; and I advanced toward Summurkund. Book I.

AND Tumookeh Kouchein met me on the way with fifteen horſemen, and joined me. And I communicated my ſecret unto him, and ſent him to Mubauruk Shaah. And entering myſelf among the tribes, I confederated with me near two thouſand of the people: and whenever I exalted the ſtandard of empire in Summurkund, they were to join me.

And I entered the city of Summurkund under the cover of the night; and going to the dwelling of my eldeſt ſiſter Kuttulugh Turkaun Aughau, I ſojourned therein. And I was buried in thought and reflection night and day. And I paſſed forty eight days undiſcovered; until at length certain of the inhabitants gave information of my arrival, and my ſituation was near to be revealed. I was without remedy; and with fifty horſemen, who were with me in the city, I came forth from Summurkund by night, and I proceeded toward Khauruzm: and certain of the foot-ſoldiers alſo came with

کردند ودر اثناي راه چند اسپ از گله ترکمانان
بدست آوردم وپیادگان خودرا سوار ساختم

وآمده در موضع اچیغي در کنار آب
آمویه در زمین پست وبلند نزول نمودم ودر همین
جاي اهل حرم ومبارک شاه وسید حسن وجماعه را
که در حوالي بخارا گذاشته بودم آمده بمن ملحق
شدند وتیمور خواجه اغلان وبهرام جلایر با افواج خود
آمده ملازمت نمودند وقریب هزار سوار نزد من جمع
آمدند واز اینجا خود با خود کنکاش کرده روانه باختر
زمین وقندهار شدم وآن ملک را مسخر گردانیدم

کنکاش پنجم که در ایام خروج خود
کردم این بود
که چون بجانب باختر زمین وقندهار
روان شدم بکنار آب هیرمن رسیدم ونزول نمودم
ویورتي بجهته خود ساختم وچند روز بنیهارداري سپاه
در کنار آن آب توقف نمودم
ودر این وقت سپاه ورعیت ولایت گرمسیر

* It may be proper to obferve, for the credit of Timour, that before he took thofe horfes, he enquired out the owners and fent for them, and gave them a written order for their value. This happened in the principality of Kufh.

رجوع

me. And on the road I took horſes from among the droves of the Toorkummaun; * and I mounted my foot-ſoldiers thereon. Book I.

AND I came and I encamped at Atcheghi in the hilly grounds on the banks of the waters of Amuveah: in this place my family, and Mubauruk Shaah, and Siud Hooſſun, and all thoſe whom I had left in the environs of Bokhaura, came and joined themſelves unto me. And Timour Khaujeh Aghlaun and Behraum Jullauir, with their forces, came and ſerved me; and near a thouſand horſemen were gathered round me. And I deliberated with myſelf, and I ſet out from thence towards Baukhtur Zemeen and Kundahaur, and I ſubdued thoſe countries.

DESIGN V.

THE FIFTH DESIGN which I formed in the days of enterpriſe, was this.

WHEN I departed towards Kundahaur and Baukhtur Zemeen, I came to the border of the river of Hiremun, and I ſojourned there, and I made for myſelf an habitation; and I tarried ſome days on the border of that river to refreſh my people.

AND at this time the ſoldiers and the inhabitants of Kurrumſeer came in unto me; and near a

Kuſh. Vide Timour's full account of this tranſaction in the Fragment of his Hiſtory. pag. 355. l. 5. MS. HUNTER.

thouſand

رجوع آوردند و تريب بهزار سوار از ترک وتاچک نيز بر من جمع شد وولايت کرمسير مسخر من کشت

ودر اين وقت کنکاش کردم که بر ولايت سيستان ترکتاز آورم وچون خبر بوالی سيستان رسيد ارمغان وساوري* فرستاد وطلب مدد کرد که جمعي از دشمنان بر من ظلم کرده وملک مرا با هفت قلعه متصرف شده اند اکر دست دشمنان از ملک من کوتاه شود شش ماهيه علوفه سپاه را برسانم

وکنکاش درين ديدم که عنان عزيمت بجانب سيستان معطوف دارم واز هفت قلعه که دشمنان وي متصرف شده بودند پنج قلعه را جبرا وقهرا کرفتم در دل والي سيستان هراس راه يافت ودشمنان خودرا با خود دوست کرد وبا خود کنکاش کردند که اکر امير تيمور درين ملک اقامت کند ملک سيستان از دست ما بدر خواهد رفت وسپاه ورعيت تمامي مملکت سيستان حشر کردند وبر سر من آمدند

وچون ديدم که والي سيستان بعهد خود وفا ننمود ناچار شدم وسر راه بر ايشان کرفته قتال وجدال نمودم وتيري آمد وبر بازوي من خورد ونيز يک تير ديکر بر پاي من رسيد آخر بر ايشان ظفر يافتم

وچون

thoufand horfemen alfo, Toork and Taucheek, were gathered round me; and the country of Kurrumfeer fubmitted to my authority. Book I.

AND at this time I refolved that I would invade the province of Seiftaun. And when the ruler of Seiftaun received accounts thereof, he fent offerings and rich gifts unto me, and he demanded fuccour, faying, "Certain of my enemies have oppreffed me, and they "have feized upon my lands, and upon feven caftles.— "If the hands of my enemies be withdrawn from my "dominions, I will advance fix months wages to the fol-"diers."

AND I faw it was good that I fhould turn the reins of my intentions toward Seiftaun. And of the feven caftles which were in the hands of his enemies, I fubdued five caftles by force and by affault. — And fear found admiffion into the heart of the ruler of Seiftaun, and he made his enemies his friends; and they faid among themfelves, "If Ameer Timour tarry in this country, the province of Seiftaun will pafs out from our hands." And they gathered together the foldiers and the people of all the country of Seiftaun, and they came upon me.

AND when I faw that the ruler of Seiftaun fulfilled not his engagement, I was without remedy; and I advanced toward them, and gave them battle. And an arrow came and pierced my arm, and another arrow alfo came upon my foot, but in the end I obtained the victory over them.

AND

وچون آب وهواي آن ملک را بمزاج خود
موافق نديدم برخاسته به کرمسير آمدم ودر آن ولايت
دو ماه اقامت نمودم تا آنکه زخمهاي من به شد

کنکاش ششم که در وقت خروج خود
کردم اين بود
که چون کرمسير مسخر من کرديد
وزخمهاي من به شد کنکاش درين ديدم که رفته
در کوهستان سرحد بلخ اقامت نمايم وجمعيت کرده
بتسخير ملک ماورالنهر متوجه شوم وچون برين کنکاش
عزيمت بستم سوار شدم وهمکي چهل سوار با من بودند
اما همه اصيل واصيل زاده وامير زاده بودند وتنکري
تعالي را شکر کفتم که در چنين پريشاني همچنين
مردم بي زر وبي توشه آمده همراهي واطاعت مرا قبول
کرده اند وبا خود کفتم الله تعالى را بمن کار بسيار
است که اين نوع مردم همسر مرا بمن مطيع ساخته

وبجانب کوهستان بلخ نهضت نمودم ودر
اثناي راه صديق برلاس از اولاد يلدرين قراچار نويان
که بطلب من سر کردان مي کشت با پانزده سوار آمده
بمن ملحق شد ومن آمدن ويرا شکون* کرفتم

ودرين

AND when I ſaw that the air and the water of that country ſuited not with me, I departed from thence, and I came back to Kurrumſeer; and I ſojourned in that land for two months, until my wounds were healed.

DESIGN VI.

THE SIXTH DESIGN which I formed in the days of enterpriſe, was this.

WHEN Kurrumſeer had ſubmitted to my authority, and my wounds were healed, I ſaw it was good that I ſhould go and ſojourn in the mountains on the borders of Bullukh; and having collected an army, that I ſhould proceed to ſubdue the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur. And when I reſolved on this meaſure, I departed from thence: and forty horſemen were all that were with me. But they were all reſolute men, and the ſons of reſolute men, and the ſons of Ameers. And I gave praiſe unto God, for that in ſuch diſtreſs ſuch men ſhould come, without purſe and without ſcrip, and follow me, and be obedient unto me. And I ſaid unto myſelf, God Almighty doeth great things for me; ſeeing he hath made ſuch men, even my equals, my ſervants.

AND I went on towards the mountains of Bullukh, and Suddeuk Burlaus (of the race of Yeldureen Kurrauchaur Nouyaun) who was wandering in ſearch of me, met me in the way with fifteen horſemen, and joined me; and I took his coming for a happy omen.

ودرین ایام بکوشت شکـار اوقـات مـی
کذرانیدیـم وپیش مي رفتیم ودر اثناء راه دیدم که
فوجي بر پشته ایستاده وساعت بساعت زیاده مي شدند
واستاده قراولان فرستادم تـا خبر آورند وقراولان بآن
جماعت رسیده خبر آوردند که قرانچي بهادر نوکر
قدیم امیر است که با صد سوار از لشکر جته جدا شده
وبطلب امیر سرکردان مي کردد من سجده شکر
تنکري تعالي بجا آوردم وامر باحضار قرانچي کردم ووي
آمده زانوزد ودر پاي مرا بوسه داد ومن ویرا تسلي
نمودم ومندیـل خـودرا بر سر وي نهادم ومتوجه دره
ارصنف شدم

ویدره ارصـنف رسیده نـزول نمودم وروز
دیکر سوار شدم ودر آن دره در آمدم ودر میان دره
بلندي بود بغایت خوش هوا ومن رفته برآن بلندي
جـاي کرفتم ولشکریان هریک در حوالي آن پشته
فرود آمدند

ومـن آن شـب کـه جمع بود زنده
داشتم وچون صبح بدمید بنماز مشغول شدم وبعد از
اداي نماز دست برداشته بـدعا مـشغـول شـدم ودر
اثناي

AND in thofe days we paffed our time in hunting, and we proceeded forward. And on the way I beheld a body of men ftanding on a hill; and their numbers increafed from time to time: and I halted, and fent people to obtain intelligence. And they went in among thofe men, and brought back intelligence, faying, "It is "Kurraunchee Bahaudur, the old fervant of Ameer,* who "with an hundred horfemen hath feparated from the ar-"mies of Jitteh, and is wandering in fearch of thee." I bowed in gratitude to Almighty God, and I fent orders for Kurraunchee to approach. And he came, and he kneeled before me; and he kiffed my feet. And I received him with affection, and I placed my own turban on his head. And I went on to the valley of Arfuff.

AND I came to the valley of Arfuff, and I pitched my tents. And on the next day I mounted my horfe, and entered into the valley. And in the midft of that valley there was a hill; and the air thereof was very delightful. And I went and dwelt upon that hill; and my people, each of them, pitched their tents in the neighbourhood thereof.

AND on that night, which was a holy night,† I kept watch; and when the morning broke, I was employed in prayer. And after repeating the prayers

* i.e. Timour.

† Friday, the Mahummudan fabbath.

اثنای دعا مرا رقتی دست داد واز تنکری تعالی درخواست کردم که مرا از این سرکردانی نجات دهد

وهنوز از دعا فارغ نکشته بودم که فوجی از دور نمودار شد که از برابر بلندی میکذرد ومن سوار شده از عقب آن فوج در آمدم تا احوال ایشانرا معلوم نمایم که ایشان چه مردم اند وایشان همکی هفتاد سوار بودند از ایشان پرسیدم که بهادران شما چه کسانید وایشان کفتند ما نوکران امیر تیموریم که بطلب امیر میکردیم واینک ویرا نمی یابیم ومن بدیشان کفتم که من هم یکی از نوکران امیر ام چونست که شمارا راهبری کرده بامیر برسانم ویکی از ایشان اسپ خودرا تاخته ورفته خبر بسرداران برد که راهبری یافته ایم که مارا به امیر تیمور رساند وایشان عنان اسپان خودرا کشیدند وحکم باحضار من نمودند وایشان سه فوج بودند وسردار فوج اول تغلق خواجه برلاس بود وسردار فوج دویم امیر سیف الدین بود وسردار فوج سیوم توبک بهادر بود وچون نظر ایشان بر من افتاد بیخود شده از اسپان خود پیاده شدند وآمده زانو زدند ورکاب مرا بوسیدند من هم از اسپ فرود آمدم وهرکدام را در بغل

prefcribed by the law, I lifted up my hands in fupplication. And in the midft of my fupplication I wept: and I implored Almighty God, that he would deliver me from that wandering life. Book I.

AND I had not yet refted from my devotions, when a number of people appeared afar off: and they were paffing along in a line with the hill. And I mounted my horfe, and I came in behind them: that I might know their condition, and what men they were. And they were in all feventy horfemen; and I afked of them, faying, "Warriors, who are ye?" And they anfwered unto me, "We are the fervants of Ameer Timour, "and we wander in fearch of him; and lo! we find him "not." And I faid unto them, I alfo am one of the fervants of Ameer: how fay ye, if I be your guide, and conduct you unto him? And one of them put his horfe to fpeed, and went and carried news to the leaders, faying, "We have found a guide, who can lead us to "Ameer Timour." And the leaders drew back the reins of their horfes, and gave orders that I fhould appear before them. And they were three troops. And the leader of the firft troop was Tughulluk Khaujeh Burlaus, and the leader of the fecond troop was Ameer Sife u deen, and the leader of the third troop was Toubuk Bahaudur. And when their eyes fell upon me, they were overwhelmed with joy; and they alighted from their horfes, and they came and they kneeled, and they kiffed my ftirrup. And

I alfo

بغل كرفتم ومنديل خودرا بر سر تغلق خواجه نهادم
وكمربند خودرا كه بسيار پر كار وزر بافت بود بر كمر
امير سيف الدين بستم وجامهء خودرا بر توبك بهادر
پوشانيدم وايشان رفت كردند ومرا هم رفت شد ووقت
نماز دررسيد وبجمعيت نمازرا ادا كرديم وسوار شده
وآمده بيورت نزول نموديم ومجلس ساخته طوي دادم
وروز ديكر شير بهرام هم كه از روي
خوردي از من جدا شده بود واراده زمين هندوستان
در دل داشت رسيد ومرا ملازمت نمود وعذر خواست
ومن ويرا در كنار كرفتم وعذرش را پذيرفتم
وآن قدر مهرباني كردم كه از خجالت بر آمد

كنكاش هفتم كه در ايام خروج خود
كردم اين بود
كه چون سان لشكر خود ديدم كه
همكي سه صد وسيزده سوار بودند بخود كنكاش
كردم كه يكي از قلاع را بدست آورده جاي بودن
قرار دهم وچنين كنكاش كردم كه اول قلعه
الاجورا كه از جانب الياس خواجه منكلي
بوغا سلدوز در آن قلعه مي بود مسخر سازم وجاي
نكاه

I alſo came down from my horſe, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of Tughulluk Khaujeh; and my girdle, which was very rich in jewels and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of Ameer Sife u deen, and I cloathed Toubuk Bahaudur in my coat. And they wept, and I wept alſo. And the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed together. And we mounted our horſes, and came and alighted at my dwelling: and I collected my people together and made a feaſt. Book I.

AND on the next day Share Behraum, who had ſeparated from me in the narrowneſs of his heart, and had reſolved to go into the land of Hind, arrived alſo. And he came into my preſence, and he made excuſes. And I took him into my arms, and I accepted his excuſes; and I treated him with ſuch kindneſs, that he came forth from his confuſion.

THE SEVENTH DESIGN which I formed in the days of enterpriſe, was this. DESIGN VII.

WHEN I ſaw the number of my forces, that they were in all three hundred and thirteen horſemen; I determined with myſelf that I would ſeize on one of the caſtles, and make to myſelf a reſidence. And thus I reſolved, that I would firſt reduce the caſtle of Aulaujou; (and Munguli Booghau Suldoze, on the part of Ouleaus Khaujeh, was in that caſtle,) and that I would make

نگاه داشتن بار وپرتل خود گردانم وباین عزیمت
روانه قلعه الاجو شدم

وشیر بهرام با وي از قدیم اشناي
داشت والتماس کرد که من رفته منکلي بوغا را
ایل گردانم

وچون شیر بهرام بحولی قلعه رفت
مرا پیغام داد که منکلی بوغا اظهار میکند چون
این قلعه را الیاس خواجه بمن سپرده از مردي ومروت
دور است که من بامیر تیمور ایل شده قلعه را
بسپارم ودر دادن قلعه اهمال نمود

لیکن این قدر شد که از خبر توجه
من واهمه در دل وي جاي کرد وقلعه را گذاشته
رو بگریز نهاد وسه صد مرد از قوم دولان جاون که
در قلعه با وي بودند واز قدیم در سلک ملازمان من
انسلاک داشتند آمده بمن ملحق گشتند

وبموضع دره صوف رسیدم ودرین وقت
املس پسر تومن بهادر که بحوالی بلخ بجهته تاخت
آمده بود خبر رسیدن مرا شنید وبا دو صد سوار آمده
ملازمت نمود ومن ویرا تسلي داده مستمال ساختم

واز

make it a place wherein to keep my baggage and my effects. And with this intention I ſet out toward the caſtle of Aulaujou. Book I.

And Share Behraum had long acquaintance with the governor of that caſtle: and he ſpoke unto me, ſaying, "I will go and I will bring Munguli Booghau "over to our ſide."

And when Share Behraum went near to the caſtle, he ſent word unto me, ſaying, Munguli Booghau ſayeth, "Since Ouleaus Khaujeh gave this caſtle "in charge unto me, it is far from manhood and from "fidelity that I ſhould come over to Ameer Timour, and "give up the caſtle:" and he refuſed to deliver it up.

But thus much came to paſs, that on receiving information of my approach, terror took poſſeſſion of his heart, and he left the caſtle, and he turned his face to flight. And three hundred men of the tribe of Doulaun Jauwun, who were with him in the caſtle, and who from old times were included in the train of my ſervants, came and united themſelves unto me.

And I arrived at the defile of Souf, and in thoſe days Umlis, the ſon of Toumun Bahaudur, who had come down into the neighbourhood of Bullukh to plunder, received news of my coming; and he came with two hundred horſemen and joined me: and I received him kindly, and I encouraged him.

واز همين جا تموكه بهادررا با سه
سوار فرستادم كه از آب ترمذ گذشته خبر لشكر جته
بياورد واز اراده وكنكاش ايشان خودرا اگاه سازد
تموكه بعد چهار روز آمده خبر رسانيد
كه لشكر جته بولايت ترمذ رسيده وبقتل وغارت مشغول
اند چون اين خبر بمن رسيد عنان عزيمت بجانب
دره گز معطوف داشتم وكنكاش درين ديدم كه
رفته در دره گز اقامت نمايم وقابو يافته بر سر لشكر
جته تركتاز آورم

وچون بدره گز در آمدم ودر ميدان
ايلچي بوغا كنار آب جيحون نزول نمودم خبر من
باليا[س] خواجه رسيد كه بدره گز رسيده ام وافواج
خود را بر سر من تعيين نمود

ودرين وقت خبر رسيد كه امير سليمان
برلاس وامير موسي وامير جاكو برلاس وامير جلال
الدين وامير هندوكه برلاس كه در لشكر جته بودند
از امراي جته رو گردان شده وبا لشكر خود جدا
گرديده بترمذ كهنه رسيده اند وتولان بوغارا كه نزد
من

AND even from this place I ſent Tummookeh Bahaudur with three horſemen, that having paſſed over the waters of Turmuz, he ſhould bring intelligence of the army of Jitteh, and inform himſelf of their counſels and deſigns.

AND Tummookeh returned after four days, and brought intelligence, ſaying, "The army of Jitteh "is arrived in the land of Turmuz, and they are em-"ployed in rapine and in ſlaughter." When I received this intelligence, I turned the reins of my intention towards the ſtreights of Guz. And I ſaw it was good that I ſhould go into the ſtreights of Guz, and ſojourn there: and ſeizing an opportunity, that I ſhould go down on the army of Jitteh.

AND when I came into the ſtreights of Guz, I pitched my tents in the plain of Ilchee Booghau, on the border of the waters of Jihoon. And Ouleaus Khaujeh received news of me, that I was arrived in the ſtreights of Guz; and he ſent his forces upon me.

AND in thoſe days intelligence came, that Ameer Soolamaun Burlaus and Ameer Jullaul u deen and Ameer Hindookeh (who were in the army of Jitteh) having turned their faces from the leaders of that tribe, and ſeparated from them with their forces, were arrived at old Turmuz: and Toulaun Booghau, whom they had

من فرستاده بودند رسیده ملازمت نمود وخبر رسیدن
ایشان را بعرض رسانید که با هزار سوار بملازمت میرسند

وآمدن ایشان را بر خود شگون * گرفتم

وبر من کنکاش کفتند که شب بر لشکر جته
شبخون باید برد چون سوار شدم خبر رسید که
لشکر جته رسیده می آید من افواج خودرا تزوک
کرده در مقابل ایشان ایستاده شدم وآب درمیان لشکر
ایشان ولشکر من حایل بود

وکنکاش دربین دیدم که مخالفان را
بحرف وحکایت نکاهدارم وآتش سوزش ایشانرا به
آب تدبیر فرو نشانم وایشان را بخود رام سازم

وبسردار لشکر جته که امیر ابو سعید
بود سخن کردم وانچه بوي کفتم قبول کرد لیکن
امراي دیکر مخالفت وي کرده بر جنک قرار دادند
وآتش غیرت من هم شعله کشید وافواج خودرا تزک
کردم

کنکاش هشتم که در شکست دادن
لشکر جته کردم این بود

که با خود کفتم اکر با لشکر جته
جنک کنم چون ایشان بسپارند مبادا چشم زخمي
بلشکر

ſent unto me, arrived and ſaw me, and informed me of their approach, that they were coming to ſerve me with a thouſand horſemen. Book I.

AND I took their coming for a good omen: and they counſelled me, ſaying, "Thou muſt fall upon "the army of Jitteh by ſurpriſe in the night." And when I mounted my horſe, news was brought that the army of Jitteh was arrived and coming down upon me. And I put my forces in order, and I ſtood over againſt them; and the water was between their army and my army.

AND I ſaw it was good, that I ſhould amuſe the enemy with words and with perſuaſions, and extinguiſh the fire of their animoſity with the water of policy, and bring them over unto me.

AND I ſpoke to the leader of the army of Jitteh (who was Ameer Aboo Saeed), and that which I ſaid unto him, he took well. But the other leaders oppoſed him and reſolved on war. And the fire of my ſpirit alſo flaſhed forth, and I formed my forces in order of battle.

THE EIGHTH DESIGN which I formed (in defeating the army of Jitteh) was this. DESIGN VIII.

I SAID unto myſelf, "If I fight with the "army of Jitteh, ſeeing they are very many, perhaps evil "may come unto my people." And at this time the ſpirit of

بلشکر من برسد درین حال غیرت کریبان کیر من شد
وگفت که چون بدعوي سلطنت خروج کرده لایق
شان ومرتبه سلطنت همین است که بر جنگ عازم
گردي یا مظفر ومنصور شوي یا کشته کردي

چون برین عزیمت عازم شدم دیدم که
غنیم سه فوج شده راه جنگ مي طلبند ومن لشکر
خودرا هفت فوج ساختم وکنکاش کردم که دفع بدفع
افواج هفتکانه خودرا بر ایشان کشاد دهم وچون نایره
قتال وجدال بلند شد امر نمودم که افواج هراول بخانه
کمان در آمده تیر باران نمایند

وافواج شقاول وچپاول را * امر کردم
بچپقولش * در آیند وخود با افواج جرانغار وبرانغار *
بحرکت در آمدم ودر حمله اول ودوم فوج
امیر ابو سعید که امیر الامرای لشکر جته بود
برداشتم

درین حال حیدر اندخودي ومنکلی
بوغا بمبارزت پیش آمدند من خود بایشان رو برو
شدم ودر حمله اول ایشانرا نیز متفرق ساختم وتمامي
لشکر جته از هم فرو ریخته متفرق وپراکنده شدند

کنکاش

of glory aſſaulted me and ſaid, Since thou haſt advanced forth with pretenſions to empire, even this is becoming the dignity and the rank of a king, that thou reſolve on war; and that thou be either victorious and triumphant, or be ſlain in battle.

AND when I had reſolved on this meaſure, I ſaw that the enemy were divided into three bodies; and that they were eager to engage. And I divided my forces into ſeven ſquadrons; and I determined that I would ſend down my ſeven ſquadrons upon them, one after the other. And when the flames of war and of ſlaughter aſcended high, I commanded the advanced guards to take to their bows, and to rain arrows upon the enemy.

AND I commanded the ſquadrons of the front lines of the left and the right wings to go into battle. And I myſelf advanced with the troops of the ſecond lines of the left and the right wings. And in the firſt and the ſecond charge I drove back the ſquadrons of Ameer Aboo Saeed, who was the chief leader of the army of Jitteh.

AND it came to paſs at this time, that Hydur Andookhodee and Munguli Booghau advanced to the fight. And I myſelf oppoſed them face to face; and in the firſt charge I defeated them alſo. And all the forces of Jitteh diſſolved away, and were ſcattered and diſperſed abroad.

THE

کنکاش نهم که در قوام سلطنت
خود کردم این بود
که چون بر امراي لشکر جته ظفر یافتم وخبر خروج
من بدعوي سلطنت در توران زمین منتشر شد
عزیمت بستم که بداد ودهش فرمان فرما کردم
کنکاش استقامت سلطنت خودرا دربن یافتم که خزانه
که فراهم آورده بودم از نقد وجنس بر سپاه قسمت
نمایم واول قلعه قهلقه را مسخر کردانم

چون لشکر خود را تغار داده تزوک
کردم وبکنار آب جیحون رسیدم واز کذر ترمذ
عبور کردم وقراولان بطرف قهلقه فرستادم ودر کنار
آب جیحون چند روز مقام نمودم ومنتظر خبر قراولان
مي بودم

چون خبر من بالیاس خواجه رسید
الچون بهادر برادر بیکچک را با افواج کران بر سر
من تعیین کرد وقراولان غافل شده بخواب رفته
بودند واز ایشان کذشته وشب بشب آمده بر سر من
شبخون آورد

وزمیني

THE NINTH DESIGN which I formed in establishing my regal power, was this.

WHEN I had obtained the victory over the leaders of the army of Jitteh, and the news of my advancing forth, and aspiring to the throne, was made public throughout the land of Tooraun; I resolved that I would become a king by generosity and by liberality. And I saw the duration of my power in this, that I should divide among my soldiers the treasures which I had gathered together, both the money and the effects: and that I should first subdue the castle of Kehulkeh.

AND when I had given subsistence to my army, I put them in order, and I arrived on the border of the waters of Jihoon. And I crossed at the passage of Turmuz; and I sent out my Kurrauvul * towards the castle of Kehulkeh; and I halted some days on the border of the waters of Jihoon, expecting intelligence from my Kurrauvul.

AND when Ouleaus Khaujeh heard where I was, he sent Alchoun Bahaudur, the brother of Begchuck, with a mighty army upon me. And my Kurrauvulaun were negligent, and went to sleep: and the enemy passed by them, and advanced night after night, and came upon me by surprise.

* *Scouts, light troops.*

وزمیني که در آن نزول نموده بودم جزیره
بود واز سه طرف آب داشت چند خیمه که بیرون
جزیره بودند بتاراج لشکر جته رفتند ومردم بیرون
آمده داخل جزیره شدند

ومن استعداد جنگ کرده آمده در کنار
جزیره ایستادم چون چشم غنیم ترسیده بود وبجنگ
مبادرت ننمودند

ومن تا ده روز در آن جزیره اقامت
نمودم وبعد از آن از جزیره بر آمده درکنار آب
آلجوتها* زده تا مدت یکماه در برابر لشکر جته نشستم
تا آنکه غنیم هراس یافته مراجعت کرد ومن از آب
گذشته در منزل ایشان فرود آمدم وفوجي را بتعاقب
ایشان فرستادم

کنکاش دهم که در استقامت سلطنت
خود کردم این بود

که چون لشکر جته را شکست دادم
صلاح کار خود درین دیدم که رفته ولایت بدخشان را
مسخر سازم وامور سلطنت خودرا رواج دهم واز کنار
آب کوچ کرده در موضع خلم نزول نمودم

وامیر حسین نبیره امیر قزغن که
همشیره

And the land in which I had pitched my tents was a peninſula: and it had water on three ſides. Some tents, which were without the peninſula, were plundered by the forces of Jitteh: and the people that were without, came and entered into the peninſula.

And I formed my troops in order, and went and ſtood on the neck of the peninſula: but the enemy were fearful, and they did not advance to the attack.

And I tarried ten days in that peninſula; and I afterwards came forth from thence, and pitched my tents † on the border of the river. And I ſat down oppoſite to the army of Jitteh for the ſpace of one month; even till they were ſeized with fear, and returned back. And I croſſed the river, and came down in their camp, and ſent forces to purſue them.

The tenth design which I formed for the advancement of my power, was this.

When I had broken the forces of Jitteh, I ſaw it was good that I ſhould go and ſubdue the country of Buddukhſhaun, and extend my dominions. And I marched from the border of the river, and encamped at the place called Khullum.

And Ameer Hooſſein, the grandſon of Ameer Kurghun, whoſe ſiſter was in my houſe, came;

† Literally, temporary huts or cantonements.

همشيره وي در خانه من بود آمده باهم ملاقات
نموديم وطويهاي داديم وكنكاش درين يافتم كه
روانه بدخشان شوم چون بقندز رسيدم در آن موضع
اقامت نمودم تا آنكه سرداران ايل يورلداي جمع آمده
بمن پيوستند وبهريك خلعتي داده تسلي نمودم

چون خبر اراستكي فوج من بشاهان
بدخشان رسيد مستعد جنك شدند كنكاش درين
ديدم كه پيش دستي كرده تا ايشان لشكرهاي خودرا
جمع سازند ايشانرا در هم شكنم وايلغار كرده خودرا
بطالخان رسانيدم

چون خبر رسيدن من بطالخان بمسامع
شاهان رسيد از راه مصالحه در آمده ملازمت كردند
من از كنكاش خود راضي شدم وديدم كه غلط نكرده
بودم وسلطنت من در ولايت بدخشان رواج يافت
واكثري از سپاه بدخشان آمده ملازمت اختيار كردند

كنكاش يازدهم كه در رواج سلطنت خود
كردم اين بود

كه چون شاهان بدخشان با طاعت من
در آمدند متوجه ختلان شدم چون بمملكت ختلان
در آمدم بولاد بوغا وشير بهرام از بد سلوكي امير
حسين جدا شده بالوس خود رفتند

ومن

and we ſaw each other, and we made a feaſt. And I found it was right, that I ſhould go on towards Buddukhſhaun. And when I came to Kunduz, I halted in that place until the chiefs of the people of Yeurldaiee came together and joined me. And I gave to each of them a robe of honour, and I encouraged them. Book I.

AND when the news of the order and the ſtrength of my forces arrived to the princes of Buddukhſhaun, they prepared for war. And I ſaw it was good that I ſhould be quick, and break their power, before they could gather their army together. And I marched with expedition, and I came to Taulkhaun.

AND when the news of my arrival at Taulkhaun reached the ears of the princes, they came in at the avenue of peace and ſaw me. I was ſatisfied with my own deliberations, and ſaw that I had not done wrong. And my power was eſtabliſhed in the country of Buddukhſhaun; and many of the ſoldiers of Buddukhſhaun came unto me and choſe my ſervice.

THE ELEVENTH DESIGN which I formed for extending my power, was this. DESIGN XI.

WHEN the princes of Buddukhſhaun came and ſubmitted to my authority, I turned towards Khuttulaun. And when I came into the kingdom of Khuttulaun, Boulaud Booghau and Share Behraum, on account of the ill conduct of Ameer Hooſſein, ſeparated and returned to their tribes.

ومن رفته در جلگاي دشت كولك
اقامت نمودم وجاسوسان تعيين كردم كه رفته از لشكر
جته والياس خواجه خبر آورند

وجاسوسان بعد از ده روز خبر آوردند
كه امراي جته اول ايشان كوج تيمور پسر بيكچك
است ودوم ايشان تيمور نوبكان است وساريق بهادر
وشنكوم وتغلق خواجه برادر حاجي بيك با بيست هزار
سوار از موضع خلاتي تا پل سنكين نزول نموده اند

وايلچي نزد من فرستادند كه احوال مرا
ولشكر مرا بخاطر آورند من لشكر خودرا دو باره بنظر
ايلچي در آوردم وايلچي را رخصت دادم

وكنكاش خودرا درين يافتم كه متعاقب
ايلچي روان شوم ليكن لشكر خودرا بخود متفق نديدم
ودر متفق ساختن لشكر خود كنكاش چنين ديدم
كه به بعضى مروت نمايم وبه بعضى مدارا كنم
وكروهي را بمال فريفته سازم وجمعى را بسخن وقول
وعهد تسلي دهم

درين حال خبر رسيد كه تغلق
سلدوز وكي خسرو كه از نوكران من
بودند

And I went and ſojourned in the paſture-lands of the Duſht of Koulauk. And I appointed ſpies, that they ſhould go and bring news of the armies of Jitteh and of Ouleaus Khaujeh.

And after ten days the ſpies brought back intelligence, ſaying; "The Ameers of Jitteh (and the firſt of them is Kooch Timour, the ſon of Begchuck; and the ſecond of them is Timour Noubukaun; and the others are Saureek Bahaudur, and Shungoom, and Tughulluk Khaujeh, the brother of Khaujee Beg) with twenty thouſand horſemen, have pitched their tents from the town of Khillautee even to the bridge of Sungheen."

And they ſent an ambaſſador unto me, that they might know my ſituation and the ſtrength of my army. And I drew out my army twice in the ſight of the ambaſſador, and diſmiſſed him.

And I ſaw my advantage in this, that I ſhould ſet out after the ambaſſador: but I found that my forces were not united with me. And to make them unanimous, I ſaw it was good that I ſhould ſhew kindneſs to ſome, and that with ſome I ſhould diſſemble; and that I ſhould tempt ſome by riches, and ſoothe ſome by perſuaſions, and promiſes, and engagements.

And at this time news arrived, that Tughulluk Suldoze, and Ki Khiſſero (who were of my ſer-

vants)

بودند شش هزار سوار جنه سر کرده بر سر من مي
آورند چون اين خبر بمسامع لشكر من رسيد تفرقه
خاطر ايشان پيشتر شد واندیشناک کشتند ليكن
امير جاكو وايكو تيمور وامير سليمان وامير جلال
الدين را بخود يافتم

كنكاش دوازدهم كه در باب اتفاق
لشكر خود كردم اين بود
كه امير جاكو وايكو تيمور وامير سليمان
وامير جلال الدين را بخلوت طلب داشته خواستم
ايشانرا بخود متفق كردانم چون بايشان خلوت
كردم سخن بديشان اين بود كه ايشانرا شريک
دولت خود ساختم تا بر عزيمت خود راسخ شدند

وطايفه كه در مقام بي اتفاق بودند
يک يک را بخلوت طلب داشته جداكانه صحبت
داشته آنهاي كه حريص وطماع بودند بمال ومنال
فريفته ساختم وكروهى را كه نظر بر جاه ومنصب
ومملكت داشتند انچه از ملک وولايت مسخر من
شده بود بديشان نامزد كردم وهمه را در ميانه اميد

* This expreffion occurs in feveral places, and is very obfcure. Perhaps it means, that if he fucceeded in his views on the kingdom of Mau-
wur

وبيم

vants) had taken the command of ſix thouſand horſemen of Jitteh, and were bringing them down upon me. And when this news reached the ears of my people, the terror of their hearts was increaſed, and they were ſore afraid. But I found that Ameer Jaukoo, and Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Soolamaun, and Ameer Jullaul u deen were with me. Book I.

THE TWELFTH DESIGN which I formed (in uniting the hearts of my people) was this. DESIGN XII.

I CALLED unto me in private Ameer Jaukoo and Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Soolamaun, and Ameer Jullaul u deen; and I ſought to confederate them with me. And when I retired with them in private, my words with them were theſe —"That I had made them "the partners of my fortune." * And they united firmly in my deſigns.

AND of thoſe who were diſſatisfied, I called each of them unto me in private, and ſpoke to them ſeparately. And thoſe who were covetous and avaricious, I tempted by wealth and by riches; and thoſe who fixed their eyes on dignities, and commands, and governments, among them I ſhared out the countries and the provinces which I had ſubdued: and I kept them all ſuſpended

wur u Nuhur, certain principalities ſhould be given to them, and rendered independent of the crown.

وبیم نگاهداشتم واز براي هریکي کوتلي * تعین کردم
وسـایـر سپاه را به لقمه وخرقه امیدوار
گردانیدم وبشرین زباني وگشاده روي ایشانرا فریفته
خـود سـاختم وخدمات ایشانرا یکی بده باز نموده
خـوشـدل گردانیدم تا آنکه موافق ومنافق همکی
بمن متفق گشتند وعـهـد بستند که با من در
موافقت وجانسپاري بتقصیر راضي نشوند

چـون خاطرم از لشکر جمع شد مستعد
جنگ الیاس خواجه شدم ودر دفع ایشان وروش جنگ
چنین کنکاش کردم که پیش دستي بکار برم وتا
ایشانرا خبر شود بر ایشان ترکتاز آورم
دریـن باب بقران مجید فال کشادم
این ایة کریمه بفال آمد کم من فیة قلیلة غلبت
فیة کثیرة باذن الله
وچـون ایـن بشارت یافتم لشکر خودرا
تـزوک کرده وهفت فوج مرتب ساخته روان شدم بر
وقت صبح بـر سـر تغلق سلدوز و کی خسرو که

* *Kotul* is a Mogul word, and fignifies one appointed to fucceed to the government on the death or difmiffion of the governor. By this artful policy he not only fecured his authority over the provinces which he divided among

between hope and fear, and I appointed a Kotul * to each. Book I.

AND I raifed the hopes of all my foldiers by gifts and by prefents: and I drew them over unto me by kind words, and by an open countenance. And the fervices which they had done, I extolled ten-fold, and made them joyful: even until thofe who were with me, and thofe who were againft me, all joined with me firmly. And they took an oath, that in fupporting me, and in devoting their lives unto me, they would not be wanting.

AND when my heart was at reft concerning my army, I prepared for the war of Ouleaus Khaujeh. And in defeating him, and in planning the order of battle, thus I determined — that I would ufe fpeed, and that I would go down upon them before they were aware.

AND concerning this I opened the holy book for an omen; and this facred verfe came forth as a fign, "How oft do the weak vanquifh the powerful by "the permiffion of Almighty God!"

AND when I had obtained this token, I formed my foldiers in order, and I divided them into feven fquadrons, and I fet out. And I came in the morning upon Tughulluk Suldoze and Ki Khiffero, (who,

among his Ameers, by placing a fpy (for fuch was the Kotul) over the conduct of each of them, but made every province anfwer the purpofe of .tisfying *two* inftead of *one* of his Ameers.

 being

هراول شده می آمدند رسیدم ودر حمله دوم ایشانرا مقهور ساختم وتا کنار پل سنکین که منزل الیاس خواجه بود هزیمت دادم

چون شب در آمد بسر زمینی که رسیده بودم نزول نمودم با خود کنکاش کردم که میدان جنک افسرده نکردانم وکرم کرم بسر لشکر الیاس خواجه که قریب به سی هزار اند ترکتاز آورم

وکنکاش کردم که اکر توقف نمایم مبادا امری روي دهد که در علاج آن محتاج کومک کردم با آنکه امیر حسین در عقب منزل داشت لیکن من خودرا بمدد وي محتاج نکردانیدم وبه کنکاش درست لشکر الیاس خواجه را شکست دادم

کنکاش سیزدهم که در شکست دادن لشکر جته والیاس خواجه نمودم این بود

که اول لشکر الیاس خواجه را بجمعي از افواج قاهره مقید ومعطل نکاهدارم بدین جهته امیر موید ارلات واوج قرا بهادر وامیر موسي را با دو هزار سوار بر سر پل رو بروي الیاس خواجه نکاهداشتم .

ومن

being the Hurrauvul,* were advancing) and I overpowered them at the second charge, and I drove them back to the head of the bridge of Sungheen, which was the station of Ouleaus Khaujeh. Book I.

AND as the night was come, I pitched my tents on the ground where I was, and I counselled with myself, that I would not let the plain of battle cool; but that I would charge quick and hot on the army of Ouleaus Khaujeh: and they were near thirty thousand.

AND I considered, that if I was guilty of delay, something might come to pass, which might cause me to stand in need of assistance. And although Ameer Hoossein was encamped behind me, I did not cause myself to stand in need of his support; but by skilful measures I defeated the forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and the men of Jitteh.

THE THIRTEENTH DESIGN which I formed, (in defeating the army of Jitteh and Ouleaus Khaujeh) was this. DESIGN XIII.

FIRST, I saw it was good, that by a body of my victorious army, I should confine and make useless the people of Jitteh: and for this purpose I stationed Ameer Muviud Arlaut, and Ouj Kurrau Bahaudur, and Ameer Moosi, with two thousand horsemen, at the head of the bridge of Sungheen, opposite to Ouleaus Khaujeh.

* Advanced guard.

AND

ومن خود با پنج هزار سوار از آب کذشته
بر کوهي که مشرف بر لشکر الياس خواجه بود برآمدم
وفرمودم که شب آتش بسياري برافروزند

وچون آتشها بنظر لشکر جته در آمد وفوج
کلاني در سر پل سنکين ديدند مضطرب شدند وآن
شب را لشکر الياس خواجه بحاضر باش بکذرانيدند

ومن در آن شب ببالاي کوه بعجز ونياز
بدرکاه تنکري تعالي مشغول بودم وصلوات بر محمد
صلي الله عليه وآله واصحابه وسلم ميفرستادم

ودر ميان خواب وبيداري اوازي بمسامع
من رسيد که شخصي ميکويد که تيمور فتح وفيروزي
وظفر تراست چون صبح صادق طلوع کرد نماز
بجماعت ادا کردم

ودرينوقت ديدم که الياس خواجه با امراء
خود سوار شده فوج فوج روان شدند وامرا وسپاه من
در تعاقب نمودن حکم خواستند ومن بخود کنکاش
کردم که در تعاقب نمودن ايشان تاخير بايد کرد
تا مقصد ايشان معلوم شود

چون چهار فرسنک راه رفتند فرود آمدند
من

AND I myſelf paſſed over the river with five thouſand horſemen, and came forth on a hill, which was higher than the army of Ouleaus Khaujeh. And I commanded that in the night they ſhould make many fires.

AND when the people of Jitteh beheld the fires, and when they ſaw a ſtrong army at the head of the bridge of Sungheen, they were afraid: and the forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh paſſed that night in watching.

AND I in that night, on the top of that hill, was employed in humiliations and ſupplications to the throne of Almighty God; and I ſent forth prayers on Mahummud (may the bleſſing of God be upon him, and upon his deſcendants, and upon his companions).

AND between ſleeping and waking I heard a voice, as of ſome one ſpeaking to me, ſaying, "TIMOUR, "victory and conqueſt and triumph are thine." And when the morning broke, I prayed with my people.

AND I ſaw at this time that Ouleaus Khaujeh and his Ameers were mounted on their horſes, and going troop after troop: and my Ameers and my ſoldiers called for orders to purſue them. And I ſaid unto myſelf, I muſt delay to purſue them until their intentions be known.

AND after they had travelled four furſungs, they halted: and I diſcovered their deſign. Behold, their intention

من کنکاش ایشانرا در یافتم که مطلب ایشان اینست
که مرا از کوه جدا بمیدان در آورند وجنک اندازند

وامرای هرلول را که شکست داده بودم
ایشان بالیاس خواجه پناه برده بودند ووي ایشان را
سرزنش کرده بود
درین وقت دیدند که من از کنکاش
ایشان واقف شده ام واز کوه بیرون نمي آیم بالضرورة
برکشته بر سر من تاخت آوردند

ومن کنکاش چنین یافتم که در دامن
کوه افواج خودرا تزوک سازم وبجنک در آیم چون
لشکر جته آمده بدامن کوه در آمدند ومعطل شدند
بهادرانرا امر نمودم که مخالفان را بشپهء تیر کرفتند
وبسیاري از مخالفان را زخمدار ساختند وچون شب
شد ودیدند که کاري نتوانستند ساخت در دامن کوه
فرود آمدند که کوه را محاصره نمایند من در آن
شب چنین کنکاش یافتم که لشکر خودرا چهار فوج
ساخته بذات خود بر ایشان شبخون آورم چون این
کنکاش دل نشین امراي من شد قریب بصبح سوار
شدم واز چهار طرف بر مخالفان شبخون آوردم

وتبا

intention was this — that they might bring me down from the mountain apart, and aſſault me. Book I.

And the chiefs of the advanced guard, whom I had defeated, had fled unto Ouleaus Khaujeh for ſhelter; and he had reproved them.

And they ſaw at this time, that I had diſcovered their intentions; and that I came not down from the hill: and from neceſſity they turned back, and came upon me.

And I found it was good, that I ſhould draw up my forces on the declivity of the hill, and enter into battle. And when the army of Jitteh advanced, and came up on the ſlope of the hill, and were unable to act, I gave orders to my warriors, that they ſhould annoy the enemy with flights of arrows. And they wounded numbers of the foe. And as the night was come, the forces of Jitteh ſaw that they could effect nothing: and they encamped on the ſkirts of the hill, that they might ſurround it. And in that night I reſolved thus — that forming my army into four ſquadrons, I myſelf would aſſault them by ſurpriſe. And when this reſolution was impreſſed on the hearts of my Ameers, I mounted my horſe, and I aſſaulted the enemy in four different places unawares, toward the morning.

وتا لشکر جته خودرا جمع سازند بهادران
من ایشان را متفرق ساختند ودر چپقولش* که شد مردم
جنکي از طرفین کشته شدند ولشکر جته الفرار کفتند
وکریزان شدند ومن خودرا بالیاس خواجه رسانیده یول
بولشن* کفتم وچون آواز من بمسامع الیاس خواجه
رسید وي از روي غضب لشکر خودرا نهیب داد
ولشکریان وي بر کشتند

وتا طلوع آفتاب میانه لشکر من ولشکر
وي جنک چپقولش* بود وترکشها خالي شد وغنیم
جنک در کریز میکردند تا آنکه در چهار فرسنکي که
یورت ایشان بود شکسته حال رفته نزول نمودند ومن
هم از تعاقب ایشان عنان باز کشیدم ودر همان سر
زمین فرود آمدم

چون لشکر جته خودرا مغلوب ومقهور
دیدند دیکر بجنک مبادرت ننمودند ومن سپاه خودرا
بر دور اردوي الیاس خواجه متفرق ساختم ومحاربات
ومجادلات مینمودم تا آنکه الیاس خواجه از روي اضطرار
از آب خجند کذشت ومن هم تعاقب ایشان را
کذاشته مظفر ومنصور بماوراالنهر مراجعت نمودم

ودر استقلال سلطنت خود کنکاشها کردم
وآن

AND before the forces of Jitteh could gather themſelves together, my ſoldiers diſperſed them; and in the ſkirmiſh many warriors of both ſides were ſlain. And the forces of Jitteh cried out, "Let us flee;" and they fled. And I came up to Ouleaus Khaujeh and ſaid, Yole Boliſhun. † And when he heard my voice, he rallied his forces in wrath; and they returned. Book I.

AND there was ſkirmiſhing between my army and his army until the riſing of the ſun. And the quivers were emptied, and the enemy fought flying. And they fled even to the diſtance of four furſungs, where their tents were pitched; and they halted there in a broken condition. And I alſo drew in the reins from purſuing them, and came down ‡ in the place where I was.

WHEN the forces of Jitteh ſaw that they were broken and defeated, they ventured not to renew the fight. And I ſpread my ſoldiers round the camp of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and I fought with them continually: even until Ouleaus Khaujeh, from extreme neceſſity, croſſed the waters of Khujjund. And I alſo left off purſuing them, and I returned victorious and triumphant to Mauwur u Nuhur.

AND I deliberated concerning the eſtabliſhment of my power; and my deliberations were theſe —

† A Mogul expreſſion of ſalutation, the preciſe meaning of which is not known. ‡ i. e. encamped on the ſpot where he had arrived.

وآن کنکاشها این بود که امرای که هریک خودرا
امیر عظیم الشان میدانستند وهریک خودرا از دیکری
بزرکتر میکرفتند مطیع ومنقاد خود کردانم اول
امیر حسین نبیره امیر قرغن که در ماوراالنهر علم
سلطنت برافراخته بود ویرا شریک دولت خود خواندم
وبوی مدارا کردم ووی اکرچه ظاهر بمن اظهار دوستی
میکرد اما همیشه در مقام نفاق وحسد با من می بود
ومیخواست که خود بر تخت سلطنت
ماوراالنهر متمکن شود وچون بروی اعتماد نداشتم ویرا
بمزار خواجه شمس الدین برده بر دوستی خود قسم
دادم وبمن عهد وقول کرد که خلاف دوستی نکند
وسه مرتبه دیکر قسم بمصحف مجید در
باب دوستی من خورد وچون آخر نقض عهد کرد
نقض عهد ویرا بمن کرفتار ساخت

وشیخ محمد پسر امیر بیان سلدوز خودرا
امیر کلانی میدانست وویرا استمالت دادم وبا هفت
تشون ایل ومطیع خود کردانیدم وملازم خود ساختم
وبهریک از امرای تشونات مذکور ولایتی ارزانی داشتم

وشیر

that I ſhould render the Ameers obedient and ſubmiſſive unto me. For each of them thought himſelf a chief of exalted dignity; and each of them deemed himſelf greater than the reſt. And firſt, I named Ameer Hooſſein (the grandſon of Ameer Kurghun) who had exalted the ſtandard of power in Mauwur u Nuhur, the partner of my fortune; and I treated him with attention. And although he outwardly ſhewed friendſhip toward me, yet did he always envy and oppoſe me. Book I.

AND he wanted that he himſelf ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the royal throne of Mauwur u Nuhur. And I had no faith in him, and I carried him to the ſepulchre of Khaujeh ſhums u deen, and made him ſwear friendſhip unto me. And he promiſed and ſwore that he would not ſwerve from his engagement.

AND concerning his friendſhip with me, he took an oath three times on the holy book. And when at laſt he broke his oaths, his breach of faith delivered him into my hands.

AND Sheikh Mahummud, the ſon of Ameer Biaun Suldoze, thought himſelf a mighty chief. And I gained his affections by ſoothings; and I brought him with ſeven Kuſhoons to ſubmit unto me, and I made him my ſervant. And to each of the Ameers of thoſe Kuſhoons I gave the command of a province.

AND

وشیر بهرام که جدا شده بالوس خـود رفته بود ودر مقام تمرد مي بـود ویرا استمالت داده طلب نمودم ووي بالوس خود آمده اطاعت مرا قبول کرد وملازم خود ساخته ولایتي بوي ارزاني داشتم

وچون میانهء من وامیر حسین خویشي بود من هرچند مروت ومدارا کردم دوست من نشد تـا آنکه ولایت بلخ وحصار شادمان را از من گرفت ومن هـم بخاطر همشیرهء وي که در خانهء من بود مضایقه نکردم وچندان بوي مدارا کردم که امراي که با من در مقام مخالفت بودند مطیع من گشتند لیکن امیر حسین همیشه در مقام شکست من ومکر وفریب با من مي بود تا آنکه کنکاش کار وي چنین کردم که بضرب شمشیر ویرا مطیع فرمایم

وچـون بر ولایت توران مستولي گشتم وولایت ماوراالنهر از خس وخاشاک وجود اوزبکان پاک ساختم بعضی از امراي اولوسات سر باطاعت من فروز نیآوردند وهریک با قبایل خود نازش میکردند وبعضي از امـراي من سفارش ایشان میکردند که چون همه شریک دولت اند ایشانرا نیز شریک دولت باید دانست لیکن سخنان ایشان در غیرت سلطنت اثر نمي کرد

بخود

AND Share Behraum, who had ſeparated from me and returned to his tribe, and remained in a ſtate of diſobedience; to him I gave encouragement, and called him unto me. And he came with his tribe, and ſubmitted to my authority. And I made him my ſervant, and I conferred a province upon him.

AND there was relationſhip between me and Ameer Hooſſein: and although I treated him with affection and with kindneſs, he was not my friend; and he even took from me the country of Bullukh and the caſtle of Shaudumaun. And I alſo, for the ſake of his ſiſter who was in my houſe, regarded it not. And I ſhewed ſuch kindneſs unto him, that the Ameers who were in a ſtate of enmity with me, ſubmitted to my authority. But Ameer Hooſſein ſtill acted towards me with treachery and fraud, and ſought to overthrow me: even until I reſolved that I would force him to ſubmiſſion by the edge of the ſword.

AND when I became the lord of the land of Tooraun, and had made clean the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur from the abominations † of the Ouzbuks; certain of the Ameers of Auloofaut ſubmitted not to my government. And they, with their tribes, diſſembled with me. And certain of my Ameers ſpoke in their behalf, ſaying, "Since we are all partners of the ſame fortune, they muſt be conſidered as the partners of thy fortune alſo." But their words made no impreſſion upon me.

AND

† Literally, the weeds and the briars.

بخود كنكاش كردم كه چون خدا
يك است ولا شريك له است پس كدخداي ملك
وي تعالي وتقدس هم بايد كه يكى باشد

درين وقت بابا علي شاه نزد من آمده
گفت تيمور تنكري تعالي فرموده كه اكر در زمين
وآسمان دو خدا باشد كار عالم بفساد انجامد ومن
بسخن وي هدايت يافتم

وبقران مجيد فال كشادم اين آية
كريمه بفال آمد كه انا جعلناك خليفه في الارض
واين فال را شكون* كرفتم ودر مطبع ساختن امراي
كه خودرا شريك دولت وسلطنت ميدانستند
كنكاشها كردم

واول بمنزل ويورت امير حاجى برلاس
رفته ويرا بخود متفق ساختم
وامير شيخ محمد پسر بيان سلدوز
چون هميشه بشراب وخمر مشغول بود آخر شراب
ويرا كلو كير ساخت وعالم را وداع نمود ولايت اورا
بتصرف در آوردم

وامير

AND I deliberated with myſelf, ſaying, Since God is one and hath no partner, therefore the vicegerent over the land of the Lord (the Almighty and the Holy) muſt be one only.

AND at this time Baubau Aali Shaah † came before me and ſaid, "TIMOUR, God Almighty "hath declared, that if there were two Gods in the "heavens and in the earth, the order of the univerſe "would end in horror and confuſion." And I took warning by his words.

AND I opened the holy book for an omen, and this ſacred verſe came forth as a ſign, "TRULY WE "HAVE APPOINTED THEE VICEGERENT UPON "EARTH." And I took this omen as a favour from heaven; and I formed meaſures for reducing to ſubmiſſion thoſe Ameers who thought themſelves the partners of my fortune and dominion.

AND I firſt went to the ſtation, and to the dwelling, of Ameer Haujee Burlaus, and I united him with me.

AND Ameer Sheikh Mahummud, the ſon of Biaun Suldoze, was always drinking wine and ſtrong ſpirits; and in the end the wine deſtroyed him, and he departed from the world, and I took poſſeſſion of his lands.

† One of thoſe Derviſhes who profeſſed ideotiſm. The Eaſt is full of this kind of Santons, who are held in great veneration by the Mahummudans.

وامير بايزيد جلاير كه ولايت خجند را
متصرف بود بوي نصيحت كردم اما دروي اثر نكرد تا
آنكه مردم الوس وي بروي خروج كرده وكرفتار ساخته
نزد من آوردند ومن ويرا بنواختم وشرمنده ساختم

وايلچي بوغا سلدوز در بلخ علم سلطنت
برافراخته بود وامير حسين كه طلب تختكاه جد
خودرا امير قرغن مينمود بوي در انداختم

ومحمد خواجه ايردي كه از اويماق
نايمن بود ولايت شبرغانات را متصرف شده علم
مخالفت من برافراخته بود وديكر ولايت بوي دادم
ووي را نوكر خود ساختم

وشهان بدخشان كه ولايت بدخشانات را
متصرف شده رايت مخالفت من برافراخته بودند با
هريك از ايشان سازكاري كردم تا بيكديكر در
افتادند وبمن رجوع آوردند

وكي خسرو والجايتو بردي ولايت
ختلان وارهنك را متصرف شده بودند وبه كي
خسرو مدد فرستادم تا رفته ولايت الجايتو بردي را
متصرف شد والجايتو بمن پناه آورد

† i.e. By the extraordinary favours, which he conferred upon him, he made him ashamed of his former conduct.

AND to Ameer Bauezeed Jullauir, who was ruler over the province of Khojjund, I gave advice: but it made not an impreſſion upon him, until the people of his tribe roſe up againſt him, and ſeized him, and brought him unto me. And I exalted him and cauſed him to bluſh. †

AND to Ameer Ilchee Booghau Suldoze, who had exalted the ſtandard of power in the city of Bullukh, I oppoſed Ameer Hooſſein; who laid claim to the imperial city ‡ of his grandfather, Ameer Kurghun.

AND Mahummud Khaujeh Erudee (who was of the hord of Tauemun) having ſeized on the country of Shereghaunaut, had exalted the ſtandard of enmity againſt me: and I gave him another province, and made him my ſervant.

AND the princes of Buddukhſhaun, who ruled over the countries of Buddukhſhaun, had elevated the enſigns of hoſtility againſt me. And I dealt artfully with each of them, || until they diſputed among themſelves, and returned back unto me.

AND Ki Khiſſero, and Aljauitoo Burdi had ſeized on the countries of Khuttulaun, and Arhung. And I ſent aſſiſtance to Ki Khiſſero, until he went and took poſſeſſion of the lands of Aljauitoo Burdi: and Aljauitoo Burdi came to me for ſhelter.

‡ i.e. The city of Bullukh.

|| i.e. Sowed animoſities among them, and by that means obliged them to ſubmit.

 AND

وامیر خضر یسوری ولایت تاشکنت را
باتفاق احشام یسوری متصرف شده بود والجایتو بردی
وکي خسرو را بیکدیکر آشنی دادم وجماعه را همراه
ایشان کردم تا رفته احشام یسوری را تاخت وتالان
کردند وامیر خضر عاجز شده پناه بمن آورد

چون ولایت ماورالنهر را از هرج ومرج پاک
ساختم افواج قاهره من قوت تمام یافت والوس برلاس
نامدار شد وقشونات وتومانات چغتاي از همت
من بلند آوازه کردید
وبر جمیع ایل وقشونات وتومنات
واحشام فرمان فرما کشتم لیکن بعضي قلعهاء
ماورالنهر در تصرف امیر حسین بود حکم من در
آنجا جاري نبود
وامیر حسین چون عظمت وشوکت مرا
مشاهده نمود عرق حسدش بحرکت در آمد وعلم
مخالفت برافراخت ونقض عهد نمود من بجانب وي
بسیار رفتم واو هیچ بطرف من نیامد وبلطایف
الحیل قلعه قرشي را از من کرفت وامیر موسی را
با هفت هزار سوار بقلعه قرشي تعیین
کرد

AND Ameer Khizzur Yeſſooree, aſſiſted by the tribe of Yeſſoor, had taken poſſeſſion of the province of Tauſhkund. And I reconciled Aljauitoo Burdi and Ki Khiſſero to each other, and ſent forces with them; until they went, and over-run, and pillaged the tribe of Yeſſoor. And the power of Ameer Khizzur was reduced low, and he fled to me for protection.

AND when I had cleared the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur from diſcord and anarchy, my armies acquired great ſtrength; and the tribe of Burlaus obtained renown; and the Kuſhoonaut and the Toumaunaut of Chughtauee became celebrated on account of my exploits.

AND I became the ruler of all the tribes, and of the Kuſhoonaut, and of the Toumaunaut, and of the people. But certain caſtles of Mauwur u Nuhur were in the poſſeſſion of Ameer Hooſſein; and in them my authority was not eſtabliſhed.

AND when Ameer Hooſſein beheld my might and my power, his envy was excited againſt me. And he exalted the ſtandard of hoſtility, and he broke his oaths. And I advanced a great way toward him, and he came not at all toward me. † And he took from me the caſtle of Kurſhee by fraud. And he appointed Ameer Mooſi, with ſeven thouſand horſemen, to guard the caſtle of

† i. e. Endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, to which Ameer Hooſſein continued adverſe.

کرد وپنج هزار سوار دیگر هم فرستاد ودر مقام
استیصال من در آمد

وازین جهته غیرت سلطنت من طغیان
کرد که قلعه قرشی را از وي بگیرم بعضي امراي
من کنکاش دادند که رفته بجنک قلعه را مسخر
کردانم من کنکاش کرفتن قلعه قرشي را
چنین کردم که اکر خواهم که بجنک مسخر
کردانم مبادا چشم زخمي بلشکر من برسد ودر جنک
چند خطر بخاطر من خطور کرد جنک را طرح کردم
وکنکاش درین دیدم که بجانب خراسان
متوجه شوم تا خاطر قلعه داران جمع شود وآنکاه
برکشته ایلغار کنم وشبخون بقلعه برده مسخر کردانم
وکوچ نموده متوجه خراسان شدم
چون از آب امویه عبور نمودم کارواني
از جانب خراسان آمده بود ومتوجه قرشی میرفت
وقافله سالار آن کاروان ارمغاني بمن آورد من از احوال
امراي خراسان از وي پرسش کردم ورفتن خودرا
بولایت خراسان بوی اظهار نمودم وایشانرا رخصت دادم
وجاسوسي همراه کاروانیان کردم
وخود در کنار آب مقام نمودم تا آنکه
جاسوس

of Kurſhee: and he afterwards ſent five thouſand horſemen more. And he took meaſures for my deſtruction.

AND on this account the honour of my ſtation urged me on, that I ſhould take from him the caſtle of Kurſhee. And certain of my Ameers counſelled me, that I ſhould go and ſeize it by force. But concerning the reduction of the caſtle of Kurſhee I deliberated thus — If I attempt to reduce it by a ſiege, perhaps my forces may be repulſed. And in a ſiege ſeveral dangers occurred to my mind; and I rejected that meaſure.

AND I ſaw it was good that I ſhould turn my face toward Khorauſaun, until the hearts of the keepers of the caſtle ſhould be at reſt; and that then I ſhould return and march with ſpeed, and aſſault the caſtle by ſurpriſe, and reduce it. And I marched, and went toward Khorauſaun.

WHEN I croſſed the waters of Amuveah, a Kauruvvaun arrived from Khorauſaun; and they were journeying toward Kurſhee. And the leader of that Kauruvvaun brought gifts unto me, and I aſked of him the ſtate of the Ameers of Khorauſaun. And I told him that I was travelling to the kingdom of Khorauſaun; and I diſmiſſed him.

AND I ſent a ſpy with the people of the Kauruvvaun, and I tarried on the border of the waters of Amuveah

جاسوس خبر آورد که کاروانیان خبر بامیر موسی رسانیدند که امیر تیمور را در کنار آب امویه دیدیم که بطرف خراسان میرفت

چون این خبر بامیر موسي ولشکر امیر حسین رسید خوشدل شدند ورحل اقامت انداخته بساط عیش وعشرت بکسترانیدند

چون این خبر بمسامع من رسید از لشکر خود دو صد وچهل وسه جوان بهادر مردانه کار کرده آزموده را جدا ساختم واز آب کذشته ایلغار کردم ودر موضع شیرکنت رسیدم ویک شب ویک روز مقام کردم واز آنجا ایلغار کرده در یک فرسنکي قلعه قرشي نزول نمودم

وفرمودم که چند نردبان بریسمانها باهم بسته طیار سازند درین وقت امیر جاکو زانو زده بعرض رسانید که جماعه از بهادران در عقب مانده اند تا رسیدن ایشان توقف ضرور است درین وقت بخاطرم رسید که تا رسیدن بهادران خود تنها رفته قلعه را ملاحظه نمایم

وچهل سوار بهادر را همراه کرفته رو بطرف قلعه قرشی آوردم چون سیاهی حصار بنظر

در

Amuveah until the ſpy brought word, that the people of the Kauruvvaun had given intelligence to Ameer Mooſi, ſaying; "We ſaw Ameer Timour on the border of the "waters of Amuveah; and he was going toward Kho-"rauſaun." Book I.

AND when Ameer Mooſi and the forces of Ameer Hooſſein heard this news, they were glad of heart; and they pitched their tents, and ſpread abroad the carpet of riot and diſſipation.

AND when I received intelligence thereof, I ſelected two hundred and forty three brave, and reſolute, and tried, and experienced warriors from among my forces; and I re-croſſed the waters of Amuveah. And I marched quick, and I arrived at Sharekund. And I halted for one night and for one day. And I marched from thence with great ſpeed; and I alighted at the diſtance of a furſung from the caſtle of Kurſhee.

AND I commanded that they ſhould make ready ladders, and bind them together with ropes. And at this time Ameer Yaukoo kneeled before me, and ſaid, "Many of our warriors have remained behind: until they "ſhall arrive, delay is neceſſary." And at this time it came into my mind that I would go alone and examine the caſtle.

AND I took forty warriors with me, and I turned my face toward the caſtle of Kurſhee. And when the blackneſs of the caſtle appeared in ſight, I commanded

در آمد بهادران را امر نمودم که توقف نمایند ومبشر وعبد الله که خانه زاد بچکان من بودند همراه کرفته وچون بکنار خندق رسیدم دیدم که خندق پر از آب است ونظر بر اطراف کردم وترناوي که آب از آن بقلعه میرفت وبر روي خندق انداخته بودند بنظرم در آمد

واسپ را به مبشر سپرده واز بالا ترناو از خندق کذشته بخاک ریز قلعه رسیدم وخودرا بدروازه رسانیدم ودستي بر در زدم ویافتم که دروازهبانان در خوابند

ودروازه را بپشت در بخاک وکل انپاشته اند واطراف دیوار قلعه را ملاحظه نمودم وجايء که زینه ونردبان توان کذاشت دیدم ومراجعت نمودم وسوار شده خودرا به بهادران رسانیدم

وفوجي که در عقب مانده بود با نردبانها رسیدند وهمکي مسلح شده ونردبانها را برداشتند ورو بقلعه آوردم واز خندق بر روي ترناو کذشتند وزینه ها کذاشته بدیوار قلعه بر آمدند چون چهل مرد مردانه داخل قلعه شدند من هم قدم بر نردبان کذاشته بقلعه در آمدم وکرنا وبرغو* کشیدند وبتوفیق تنکري تعالی قلعه را مسخر کردانیدم

چون این خبر بمسامع امیر حسین رسید در مقام مکر وفریب در آمد ومیخواست که در لباس اشنايء ودوستي مرا در قید خودرا آورد

کنکاش

my warriors to halt. And I took with me Mubbushur and Abdullah, who had been born in my houſe. And when I came to the border of the ditch, I ſaw that the ditch was full of water. And I looked round about, and I beheld a waterpipe; † and water ran through that pipe to the caſtle, and they had laid it acroſs the ditch. Book I.

AND I delivered my horſe to Mubbuſhur, and I croſſed the ditch on that pipe, and I came to the foot of the wall. And I went on to the portal, and ſtruck on the door with my hand; and I diſcovered that the guards of the portal were aſleep.

AND they had filled up the portal behind the door with clay and with earth. And I looked round the walls of the caſtle, and ſaw the place where the ſteps of the ladders could be fixed. And I returned, and I mounted my horſe, and went back to my warriors.

AND the troops who had remained behind came with the ladders, and they were all armed; and they took up the ladders, and I turned my face toward the caſtle. And they croſſed the ditch on the pipe; and having fixed their ladders, they entered on the walls of the caſtle. And when forty reſolute men had entered the caſtle, I alſo placed my foot on the ladder, and went in unto them. And they ſounded their trumpets; and by the favour of Almighty God I obtained poſſeſſion of the caſtle.

AND when this news reached the ears of Ameer Hooſſein, he entered into the road of deceit and diſſimulation; and, under the cloak of friendſhip and intimacy, he ſought to bring me into his power.

† A trunk of a tree hollowed into a pipe

THUS

کنکاش خلاص خود از مکر وخدعة امیر حسین که میخواست مرا دستگیر سازد چنین کردم

که چون امیر حسین مصحفي که بآن قسم خورده بود که مرا بجز دوستی ومراعات خویشي چیزي دیگر بخاطر نیست نزد من فرستاد وگفته فرستاد که اگر خلاف انچه میگویم امري دیگر بخاطرم باشد واگر نقض عهد نموده ترا بدي بکنم این مصحف خدا مرا بگیرد وچون ویرا مسلمان میدانستم بر قول وي اعتماد کردم تا آنکه کس نزد من فرستاد وپیغام داد که اگر چنان شود که در تنگ چکچک با یکدیگر ملاقات نماییم وتجدید عهد سابق کنیم حقا که بهتر خواهد بود

ومقصدش این بود که بمکر وفریب مرا دستگیر نماید ومن میدانستم که بر عهد وقول وي چندان اعتمادي نیست اما بنابر تعظیم مصحف قرار دادم که بملاقات وي نهضت نمایم وکنکاش کردم که اول جمعي از بهادران مردانه را فرستاده در حوالي وحواشی دره چکچک پنهان سازم وخود با جمعی رفته با امیر حسین ملاقات نمایم

وبدوستان خود که در خدمت امیر حسین بودند

Book I.

THUS I acted for my deliverance from the treachery and perfidy of Ameer Hooſſein, who ſought to make me his priſoner.

WHEN Ameer Hooſſein ſent unto me a KORAUN, by which he had taken an oath that nought was in his heart but friendſhip and brotherly affection towards me; and ſent a meſſage unto me, ſaying, "If there "be ought in my heart contrary to that which I ſay; "and if I break my oath, and do evil unto thee, may "this book of God ſeize upon me;"— ſeeing that I thought him a true believer, I put confidence in his words: even until he ſent a perſon unto me, and a meſſage, ſaying, "If it may be ſo that we may ſee each "other in the paſs of Chukchuk, and renew our antient "faith, truly it will be better."

AND this was his deſign, that by perfidy and treachery he might ſeize upon me. And although I knew that much faith was not to be placed on his word, or on his oath; yet, out of reſpect to the holy KORAUN, I reſolved that I would go to meet him. But I determined that I would firſt ſend a number of my reſolute warriors, and ſecrete them round about the paſs of Chukchuk, and that I myſelf would go with another body of my people and ſee Ameer Hooſſein.

AND I ſent advice to my friends, who were the followers of Ameer Hooſſein, that they ſhould inform

بودند پیغام دادم که از اراده امیر حسین مرا آگاه
کردانند وشیر بهرام که از دوستان من بود مرا بر اراده
امیر حسین آگاه ساخت وامیر حسین اورا بقتل آورد
وبا هزار سوار بر سر من روان شد

در آن وقت من در سر دره فرود آمده
بودم که این خبر بمن رسید وتزوک فوج خود کردم
ودرین حال طلایه لشکر امیر حسین نمودار شد
وقراولان خبر آوردند که فوج امیر حسین است
واینک امیر حسین خود نمي آید چون شنیده که
امیر تنها آمده است فوج بکرفتن شما تعین نموده

ومن مستعد شدم وهمکي با من دو صد
سوار بودند وصبر کردم تا آنکه فوج امیر حسین بدره
در آمد وبهردمي که پیش از خود فرستاده بودم امر
کردم که راه برکشتن ایشانرا بکیرند ومن خود
بایشان رو برو شدم ومخالفانرا در آن دره در میان
کرفتم واکثر را دستکیر کردم ومردم خود را جمع
ساخته وتزوک نموده روانه قرشي شدم وبتجربه من
رسید که دوست در همه جا بکار مي آید

وبامیر حسین مضمون این بیت بترکي
نوشتم
صبا

inform me of his designs. And Share Behraum, who was of my friends, informed me of the designs of Ameer Hooſſein. And Ameer Hooſſein ſlew him; and ſet out with a thouſand horſemen to come upon me. Book I.

AND at that time I had pitched my tents at the entrance of the paſs, and this news came unto me. And I ordered my forces: and, behold, the vanguard of Ameer Hooſſein appeared in ſight. And my Kurrauvulaun brought word, ſaying, "It is the army of Ameer "Hooſſein; and, lo! Ameer Hoſſein himſelf cometh "not with them: for he hath heard that Ameer † is come "alone, and he hath ſent an army to ſeize thee."

AND, behold, I was prepared; and two hundred horſemen were all that were with me. And I waited until the forces of Ameer Hooſſein had entered the paſs: and I ſent a meſſenger to the people whôm I had ſent before me, and I commanded them to ſeize the way of their retreat. And I myſelf oppoſed them face to face. And I encloſed my enemies in that paſs, and I took many priſoners. And I gathered my people together, and I ordered them, and ſet out towards Kurſhee. And by experience it was known unto me, that a friend in all places cometh to uſe. ‡

AND I wrote to Ameer Hooſſein the ſenſe of this verſe, in the Toorki ‖ language;

† i. e. Timour.

‡ Alluding to the intelligence which he had received from Share Behraum.

‖ i. e. the Mogul.

Say,

صبا بگوی بآن یار دام مکر نهنده
که مکر باز نگردد مکر بمکر کننده

چون پیغام من بامیر حسین رسید خجل ومنفعل شد وعذر خواست ومن دیگر بروی اعتماد نکردم وبسخنان وی فریفته نشدم

کنکاش در پاک ساختن توران زمین از بقیه السیف طایفه اوزبک چنین کردم

که چون لشکر جته والیاس خواجه را از ماوراالنهر بر آوردم واز آب خجند گذرانیدم بعضی افواج اوزبکان در قلعهای ماوراالنهر مستحکم بودند وچون خواستم که افواج بر ایشان تعین کنم وبخاطرم خطور کرد که مبادا کار بدور ودراز بکشد

در آن وقت خبر بمن رسید که اوزبکان در قلعها قایم شده اند وصلاح در آن ندیدم که افواج خودرا بر ایشان تعین نمایم ویرلیغی از جانب الیاس خواجه نوشتم وبه اوزبکی دادم وفوجی همراه وی کردم وامر نمودم که خودرا نمودار سازند وگرد وغبار برانگیزند

وچون یرلیغ طلب الیاس خواجه بایشان رسید

"Say, O Zephyr, to that friend, the layer of the ſnares
"of treachery,
"Doth not the treachery return back to the doer of
"treachery?"

And when Ameer Hooſſein received my meſſage, he was aſhamed and confounded; and he made excuſes. And I had faith in him no more, and I was no more deceived by his words.

In making clean the land of Tooraun from thoſe of the tribe of Ouzbuk who had eſcaped the ſword, thus I acted.

When I drove forth from Mauwur u Nuhur the armies of Jitteh, and of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and forced them to croſs the waters of Khujjund, certain of the troops of Ouzbuk were encloſed in the caſtles of Mauwur u Nuhur; and when I ſought to ſend forces upon them, it came into my mind that perhaps the war might be tedious and of long duration.

And at that time news came unto me, that the Ouzbuks continued in the caſtles; and I ſaw it was not good that I ſhould ſend my armies againſt them. And I wrote a ſummons, as if from Ouleaus Khaujeh, and I gave it to an Ouzbuk, and I ſent forces along with him. And I commanded them to ſhew themſelves, and to raiſe a great duſt.

And when the Ouzbuks received the ſummons of Ouleaus Khaujeh, calling them unto him,

رسید وگرد وغبار افواج را دیدند شب بشب قلعها را
خالي ساخته بدر رفتند وساحت ماوراالنهر از وجود
آن ظالمان که قصد کشتن من کرده بودند پاک
شد وآن مملکت مسخر من گشت

ومن صلهٔ رحم نگاهداشته ولایت بلخ
وحصار شادمانرا بامیر حسین ارزاني داشتم ووي قدر
احسان ومروت مرا ندانست وقصد استیصال من کرد
ومن کنکاش در استیصال امیر حسین چنین کردم
که چون وي اثار فتح ونصرت مرا دید
عرق حسدش بحرکت درآمد وازارها بمن وهمشیره اش
که در خانه من بود رسانید وقصد کرد که ماوراالنهر از
من بگیرد وبکشتن من کمر بست وبارها بمصاف
من برآمد وهر مرتبه شکست یافت

چون بی اعتدالي وبي انصافیها وي
بحد افراط رسید ونزدیک شد که بر من غالب آید
ومرا مستاصل کرداند در آن وقت امراي وي از بد
سلوکي که بایشان میکرد از وي برگشتند وبرادر امیر
کي خسرو حاکم ختلان را هموچي بقتل آورد وامیر
کی خسرو در ختلان باغي شد
چون امراي وي در مقام نفاق بودند ووي
ایشانرا

and ſaw the duſt raiſed by my people; they quitted the Book I. caſtles, night after night, and fled. And the land of Mauwur u Nuhur was delivered from thoſe oppreſſors who had ſought to ſlay me: and that kingdom ſubmitted to my government.

AND I regarded the ties of kindred, and gave to Ameer Hooſſein the country of Bullukh and the caſtle of Shaudumaun. And he perceived not the degree of my kindneſs and regard; and he ſought to deſtroy me. And in reducing Ameer Hooſſein thus I determined.

WHEN he ſaw the ſigns of my victories and conqueſts, his envy was excited; and he moleſted me, and he moleſted his ſiſter who was in my houſe; and he ſought to take Mauwur u Nuhur from me. And he girded up his loins to ſlay me. And he came forth many times to fight with me: and he was defeated every time.

WHEN his iniquity and injuſtice had reached the limits of exceſs, and it was near that he ſhould become conqueror over me, and expel me; in thoſe days his Ameers, becauſe of the evils which he had done unto them, turned back from him. And he ſlew Humoochee, the brother of Ameer Ki Khiſſero, the ruler of Khuttulaun. And Ameer Ki Khiſſero rebelled in Khuttulaun.

AND his Ameers were in a ſtate of enmity; and he thought that they were his friends. And he

ایشانرا از اهل وفاق میدانست وبقصد دفع ورفع من از
خطه بلخ پیشخانه بیرون کشید واین خبر بمن آوردند
وقابوي خودرا درین دیدم که تا امیر حسین بحرکت
در آید خودرا بر سر وي برسانم

وبا جماعه که حاضر بودند متوجه بلخ
شدم ودر راه افواج قاهره از اطراف وجوانب آمده جمع
شدند وبحوالي خطه بلخ رسیده نزول نمودم وامیر
حسین بمدافعه ومقاتله بر آمد وصرفه نبرد وبقلعه در
آمده متحصن شد وآمد بر سرش انچه آمد

در باب ایل ساختن آنها که با من بدیها
کرده ازمن متوهم بودند ونظر بر بدیهاي خود نموده در
خاطر داشتند که من آنها را خواهم کشت چنین کنکاش
کردم

که چون امیر حسین بدست من کرفتار
شد نوکران وامراي وي بر من کمان کردند که ایشانرا
خواهم کشت اکرچه من در مقام کشتن ایشان بودم
اما چون سپاهي بودند کنکاش درین دیدم که ایشانرا
مستمال ساخته بکارهاي سپاهکري تعین نمایم

† He was obliged to deliver up the caſtle to Timour, from whom he received a promiſe of perſonal ſafety; but was ſlain nevertheleſs ſome days after by certain of that prince's officers whom he had formerly injured. Vid. *Hiſtoire de Timur-Bec*, Tom. I. p. 191.

وامیر

brought forth his tents from the land of Bullukh, with a resolution to drive me out and destroy me. And they brought unto me this news, and I saw my advantage in this, that even before Ameer Hoossein could put himself in motion, I should go down upon him.

AND I turned toward Bullukh, with the people that were with me: and my victorious forces came from all parts, and from all sides, and were gathered together. And having arrived on the borders of the land of Bullukh, I pitched my tents. And Ameer Hoossein came forth to fight with, and expel, me; and it availed him not. And he entered into the castle, and was enclosed therein. And that befel him which did befall him. †

CONCERNING those who had done evil unto me, and who, reflecting on their evil doings, thought in their hearts that I should slay them, thus I acted.

WHEN Ameer Hoossein fell into my hands, and his Servants and his Ameers were suspicious of me, that I would slay them; although I had determined to put them to death, yet, as they were warriors, I saw it was good that I should dispel their fears, and employ them in war. ‡

‡ The principal Ameers of Bullukh having revolted from Timour, and submitted to their former prince Sooltaun Ahmud Iullauir.

AND

وامير الامراء وي كه در بدخشانات حاكم
بود وبارها بمن رو برو شده وشمشيرها زده بود وچون
شنيد كه امير حسين بقتل رسيد از سياست من
ترسيد وخودرا جمع ساخت واگر من لشكر بگرفتن
وي تعين ميكردم لايق نمي بود

ودر كار وي تغافل كردم وكنكاش
درين ديدم كه در مجالس ومحافل ذكر خير وتعريف
شجاعت ومردانگي وي كردم تا آنكه دوستان وي
بوي نوشتند كه امير با تو در مقام مرحمت وعنايت
است ووي بمن عرضه داشت كرده تكيه بر عنايت
ومروت من نمود وپناه بمن آورد

كنكاشي كه در تسخير دار الملك خراسان
كردم اين بود كه چون ولايت بلخ وحصار شادمان
وبدخشانات مسخر من شد وامير حسين مقتول
گرديد خبر آن بملك غياث الدين حاكم خراسان
رسيد وبر خود بلرزيد ودر مقام جمعيت سپاه ولشكر
در آمد وميخواست كه خودرا استحكام دهد

كنكاش خودرا درين ديدم كه اهل
خراسان را در خواب غفلت اندازم وازين جهته عنان
عزيمت

AND the Ameer ul Omurau of Ameer Hooſſein was the governor of Buddukhſhaun; and he had met me face to face many times, and had fought againſt me. And when he heard that Ameer Hooſſein was ſlain, he feared my juſtice, and he collected himſelf together. And if I had appointed an army to ſeize him, it would not have been proper. Book I.

AND I feigned negligence toward him; and I ſaw it was good that I ſhould ſpeak well of his conduct, and praiſe his courage and his magnanimity in the aſſemblies, and among the people: until his friends wrote unto him, ſaying, "Ameer Timour is inclined to ſhew "favour and mercy unto thee." And he ſupplicated me ſubmiſſively, and he reſted on my clemency and favour; and he came to me for protection.

THE DESIGN which I formed for ſubduing the capital city of Khorauſaun, was this. When the kingdom of Bullukh, and the caſtle of Shaudumaun, and the countries of Buddukhſhaun were ſubdued; and when Ameer Hooſſein was ſlain; the news thereof came to Mullik Gheaus u deen the ruler of Khorauſaun, and he trembled for himſelf. And he began to gather together his ſoldiers and his army; and he ſought to ſecure himſelf.

AND I ſaw my ſucceſs in this, that I ſhould throw the people of Khorauſaun into the ſleep of negligence: and for this reaſon I turned back the reins of

عزيمت بطرف سمرقند معطوف داشتم وبعد از آن
نامه پير من بمن رسيد که ملک غياث الدين بظلم
وجور مشغول است

وچون از خبر مراجعت من بطرف سمرقند
ملک غياث الدين بخاطر جمع نشسته بود کنکاش
کردم که الحال خاطر خراسانيان از طرف من جمع
کشت بايد که بر ايشان ترکتاز آورم
واز حوالي بلخ برکشته با لشکري که
در بلخ کذاشته بودم ايلغار کردم وخودرا بهرات
رسانيده ملک غياث الدين را در خواب غفلت کرفتم
ووي ناچار از شهر هرات بر آمد وخراين ودفاين ومملکت
خودرا بمن پيشکش کرد وملک خراسان مسخر من
کرديد وامراي خراسان همکي اطاعت من کردند

وکنکاش ديکر که در تسخير ممالک
سيستان وقندهار وافغانستان کردم اينست که
چون مملکت خراسان بتسخير در آمد امراي من
کنکاش کفتند که افواج به تسخير اين سه ملک
تعين بايد کرد من کفتم که اکر با افواج کار
ميسر نشود ناچار مرا عنان عزيمت بدآن صوب معطوف
بايد

of my intention toward Summurkund. And after that a letter from my PEER came unto me, ſaying; "Mullik "Gheaus u deen is employed in tyranny and oppreſſion." Book I.

AND when, from the news of my return toward Summurkund, Mullik Gheaus u deen had ſat down quiet and ſecure, I reſolved thus —— "Now the hearts "of the people of Khorauſaun are no longer afraid of me, "I muſt fall upon them."

AND I turned back from the neighbourhood of Bullukh; and with the army which I had left in Bullukh, I marched with ſpeed: and, coming to Hurraut, I took Mullik Gheaus u deen in the ſleep of ſecurity. And he was helpleſs, and he came forth from the city of Hurraut, and he preſented unto me his treaſures, and his wealth, and his kingdom. And the kingdom of Khorauſaun was ſubdued; and the Ameers of Khorauſaun, every one of them, ſubmitted unto me.

THE DESIGNS which I formed for conquering the countries of Seiſtaun, and Kundahaur, and the land of the Afghauns, were theſe. When the kingdom of Khorauſaun was reduced to obedience, my Ameers counſelled me, ſaying, "Thou muſt ſend armies "to ſubdue theſe three countries." I anſwered them, ſaying, If the matter be not brought to paſs by the armies, without remedy, I myſelf muſt turn the reins of

بـــايد داشت واينك مرا كار بسياري در پيش است
كنكاش دربن ديدم كه يرليغهاي استمالت
به حكام آن ديار بنويسم با اين مضمون كه اكر بمن
در آييد بر آييد واكر در افتيد بر افتيد وانچه بينيد
وتدبير موافق تقدير بود وبمجرد رسيدن يرليغها ايشان
سر اطاعت بر جادهء فرمان برداري نهادند

كنكاشي كه در استيصال اروس خان
وتسخير دشت قبچـاق كردم اين بود كه چون
تغتمش بداخان از اروس خان شكست يافته پناه بمن
آورد بخـود كنكاش كردم كه بهمراهي تغتمش
بداخان فوج بفرستم يا خود بروم
دربـنـوقـت ايلچـي اروس خان رسيد
كنكاش را چنين يافتم كه ايلچي ويرا تسلي نمايم
ورخصت دهـم وراه دشـت را بربندم ومتعاقب ايلچي
لشكري تعين كنم كه در روزي كه ايلچي
بخـاطـر جـمـع بمجلس اروس خان در آيد ووي
غـافـل شـود روز ديكر افـواج مـن بر سر وي
تركتاز آورد

چون

my intention that way: and, behold, I have very much business before me. Book I.

AND I saw it was good, that I should write mandates of encouragement to the rulers of those countries, to this purport — "If ye come in unto me, "come; and if ye refuse, refuse: and do that which ye "see best." And, behold, the measure was good: and as soon as my mandates arrived, they placed the forehead of submission on the path of obedience.

THE DESIGN which I formed for vanquishing Auroos Khaun, and for subduing the Dusht of Kipchauk, was this. When Touktummish Buddau Khaun was defeated by Auroos Khaun, and fled to me for shelter, I counselled with myself whether I should send an army with Touktummish Khaun, or whether I should go myself.

AND at this time the ambassador of Auroos Khaun arrived. And I saw my advantage in this — that I should speak fair to his ambassador, and dismiss him, and shut up the road to the Dusht, and appoint an army to set out after the ambassador;—and that on the day after that on which the ambassador should enter the presence of Auroos Khaun, without suspicion; whilst Auroos Khaun should be unprepared, my forces should assault him.

چون چنین کردم تدبیر موافق تقدیر
آمد که چون ایلچي اروس خان رسید وحکایت
میکرد که افواج قاهره من چون بلاي ناکهاني بر
سر اروس خان ریختند واروس خان تاب مقاومت
نیاورد وقرار بر فرار داد ومملکت دشت قبچاق مسخر
من شد

کنکاش که در تسخیر ممالک کیلان
وجرجان ومازندران وازربایجان وشروان وفارس وعراق
کردم این بود که در ایامي که عرایض اهل
عراق از تعدي آل مظفر وملوک طوایف بمن رسید
اراده بیساق عراق کردم

ودرین حال بخاطرم رسید که ملوک
آن ممالک اکر بیک اتفاق در مقابل من در آیند
جنک را آماده باید بود وامراي من همچنین کنکاش
کفتند که باستعداد جنک باید رفت ومن با
خود چنین کنکاش دیدم که یک یک از ایشان را
بخود رام کردانم وهرکس رام نشود ویرا بسزا رسانم

اول کسي که بمن پناه آورد امیر
علي حاکم مازندران بود که بمن پیشکش
فرستاد

And when I did ſo, the meaſure proved ſuccefsful. For when the ambaſſador arrived, even whilſt he related his ſtory, my victorious armies, like unto an unforeſeen calamity, poured on the head of Auroos Khaun. And Auroos Khaun had not the power to oppoſe them; and he reſolved on flight. And the Duſht of Kipchauk was ſubdued. †

The designs which I formed for ſubduing the countries of Kilaun, and Jurjaun, and Mauzinduraun, and Azzurbauejaun, and Shurwaun, and Fauris, and Erauk, were theſe. In thoſe days, when the petitions of the people of Erauk, on account of the oppreſſions of the race of Muzzuffur, and of the rulers of the nations, came unto me, I reſolved to go down upon Erauk.

And at this time it came into my mind, that if the rulers of thoſe countries ſhould join together to oppoſe me, I muſt be well prepared for war: and my Ameers gave this counſel, ſaying, "We muſt go prepared for war." And I reſolved with myſelf, that I would make them obedient unto me, one by one; and that I would chaſtiſe thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit.

And the firſt perſon, who ſought my protection, was Ameer Aali the ruler of Mauzinduraun,

† Upon the death of Auroos Khaun, which happened ſoon after his defeat, Touktummiſh Khaun was eſtabliſhed on the throne of the Duſht of Kipchauk, by the aſſiſtance of Timour.

who

فرستاد ودر مکتوبی که نوشته بود قید کرده بود که
ما جمعي که از آل علي ایم قناعت باین سر زمین کرده
ایم ان تاخذوا قدرتکم اقوي وان تعفوا اقرب للتقوي
یعني اگر بگیرید قدرت شما قویتر است واگر عفو
کنید نزدیک به پرهیزکاري است

من رجـوع حاکم مازندران را شکون*
گرفتم ومتوجه مملکت گیلان وجرجان شدم وچون
حـکـام آنجا بمن رجوع نیاوردند وافواج قاهره بر سر
ایشان تعین نمودم وخود بعراق لشکر کشیدم
واصفهان را مسخر ساختم وبر اهل اصفهان
اعتماد کرده قـلـعـه را بدست ایشان سپردم وایشان
باغي شده داروغه را که بر ایشان تعین کرده بودم
بـا سـه هزار کس از سپاه بقتل آوردند   من هم
حکم بقتل عام اهالي اصفهان کردم

کنـکـاشي که در تسخیر دار الملك
فارس وتنبه عراق کردم اینست
که چـون شـیـراز را به آل مـظـفـر
گـذاشـتـم ودر اصـفـهـان سـه هـزار کـس
تعین

who ſent gifts unto me; and in the letter which he wrote unto me, he inſerted this — "We, who are of the "poſterity of Aali, have reſted ſatisfied with this land. "ان تاخذوا تقدرتكم اقوي وان تعفوا اقرب" "للتقوي † That is to ſay; *If thou wilt take it from* "*us, thy power is greater than ours; but if thou wilt* "*ſpare us, it will come nearer to clemency.*"

Book I.

I considered the ſubmiſſion of the ruler of Mauzinduraun as a happy omen; and I turned toward the countries of Kilaun and Jurjaun. And when the princes of thoſe countries ſubmitted not unto me, I appointed troops to go down upon them; and I myſelf drew my army into Erauk.

And I conquered the city of Isfahaun. And I truſted in the people of Isfahaun; and I delivered the caſtle into their hands. And they rebelled; and the Daurogheh, whom I had placed over them, they ſlew, with three thouſand of the ſoldiers. And I alſo commanded that a general ſlaughter ſhould be made of the people of Isfahaun.

The design which I formed for the reduction of the chief city of Fauris, and the reſt of Erauk, is this.

When I left Sharauze in the hands of the deſcendants of Muzzuffur, and ſtationed three thouſand

† Arabic.

men

تعین نمودم وبجهته دفع ورفع تقتمش خان بجانب
دشت قپچاق لشکر کشیدم اهل اصفهان داروغه را
بقتل رسانیده بودند واهالي شیراز نیز قدم اطاعت
بیرون گذاشته بودند

لهذا تجدید یساق مملکت عراق نمودم
وهشتاد هزار سوار موجود ساختم وکنکاش کردم اگر
بیک مرتبه با این لشکر کران بعراق در آیم گنجایش
نخواهد بود وافواج را مقرر ساختم که فوج فوج
بمملکت عراق ترکتاز آورند

چون چنین کنکاش کردم لشکر خودرا
سه فوج ساختم وپیش از خود تعین نمودم ولشکرهاي
متفرقه که در عراق جمع آمده بودند همه پراکنده
شدند وبر شیراز لشکر کشیدم وشاه منصور بمن رو
برو شد وبسزاي خود رسید

کنکاشي که در شکست دادن تقتمش
خان کردم این بود
که در دشت قپچاق لشکریان من
بواسطه آنکه پنج ماه در تعاقب تقتمش خان
معطل شدند قحطي وتنکي در لشکر من بسیار شد
چنانچه

men in Isfahaun, and drew my armies towards the Dusht of Kipchauk, to reduce and drive out Touktummish Khaun, † the people of Isfahaun put my Daurogheh to death: and the inhabitants of Sharauze also turned aside from their obedience. Book I.

AND on these accounts I went down upon the kingdom of Erauk a second time, and I collected together eighty thousand horsemen. And I reflected, that if I entered into Erauk at one time with this mighty army, that they could not be supported. And I commanded my armies, that they should invade the kingdom of Erauk, one after the other.

AND when I had resolved thus, I divided my forces into three armies, and sent them down before me. And the divided troops who had come together in the kingdom of Erauk, were all dispersed abroad. And I drew an army on Sharauze: and Shaah Munsoor opposed me face to face. And he met with his reward. ‡

THE DESIGN which I formed in defeating Touktummish Khaun was this.

WHEN my armies were weakened by a pursuit of five months after Touktummish Khaun in the Dusht of Kipchauk, famine and scarcity were very great in my army, even so that for many days my people lived

† Who, forgetting the repeated services and assistances which he had received from Timour, had during his absence in Persia &c. made incursions into Mauwur u Nuhur. ‡ i. e. was slain in the action.

چنانچه چند روز بآش بلهاق* وگوشت شکار وتخم
مرغان صحراي اوقات میگذرانیدند تا آنکه تغتمش
خان احوال لشکر مرا شنیده فرصت یافت وبا لشکري
بیشتر از مور وملخ آمده بمن رو برو شد

ولشکریان من بسیار گرسنه بودند ولشکر
تغتمش خان آسوده وسرداران وامراي من دل نهاده
جنگ نمي شدند تا آنکه فرزندان ونبایر آمده زانو
زدند واختیار جانسپاري نمودند

ودرین وقت علمدار تغتمش خان بمن
سازش کرد وکنکاش چنین یافتم که جنگ بیندازم
ودر هنگام مقابله هر دو صف علمدار وي علم ویرا
نگونسار سازد

† To render the importance of this DESIGN intelligible, it may be proper to obſerve, that in aſiatic encounters the diſappearance or retreat of the grand ſtandard of the prince has ever been, and ſtill is, attended with the loſs of the battle. This ſtandard is conſpicuous for its ſize, and accompanies that body of troops immediately headed by the prince himſelf. The eyes of the whole army are fixed upon it. While it continues diſplayed and advancing, the troops are ſatisfied that their prince is with them; but the moment it diſappears, or retreats, they conclude that he is either ſlain or flying from the field: and the diſperſion of his forces immediately follows.

Aali Yezzudi appears to be totally ignorant of the good underſtanding which had taken place between Timour and the ſtandard-bearer of Touktummiſh Khaun. Unacquainted with this circumſtance, he is at a loſs to account for certain of the emperor's actions prior to the battle. In relating the movements of the army a ſhort time before the action, he ſays, "Tocat-
" mich

چون

on the fleſh of the beaſts of the foreſts, and on the eggs of the birds of the deſert. And Touktummiſh Khaun heard of the ſtate of my people, and found his advantage; and, with an army more numerous than the ants and the locuſts, came upon me, and oppoſed me face to face. Book I.

AND my people were an hungered, and the army of Touktummiſh Khaun were full. And my chiefs and my Ameers ſet not their hearts upon battle, until my ſons and my grandſons came, and kneeled down, and devoted their lives unto me.

AND at this time the ſtandard-bearer of Touktummiſh plotted ſecretly with me. And I found it was good that I ſhould aſſault the foe; and that, when the two armies were engaged, the ſtandard-bearer of Touktummiſh Khaun ſhould invert his ſtandard. †

" mich s'étoit imaginé que lorſque Timur arriveroit au fleuve de Tic, il le " traverſeroit par les paſſages ordinaires, c'eſt pourquoi il s'étoit mis en em- " buſcade pour le ſurprendre dans ce paſſage: mais l'Empereur *s'étoit pré-* " *cautionné* contre les deſſeins de Tocatmich; il avoit paſſé le fleuve à la " nage par un autre endroit, et il étoit arrivé près de lui ſans peril. *Quoi-* " *qu'il en ſoit*, ce Prince *ayant compris* la maniere d'agir de Tocatmich Can, " il s'arrêta dans ce lieu là, juſqu'à ce que toutes les Troupes s'y fuſſent " rendues, &c." Vid. *Hiſt. Timur-Bec*, Tom. II. p. 98.

This is another proof of the ſuperiority of the hiſtory of Timour, written by himſelf, over that written by Aali Yezzudi; who, though a tolerably accurate narrator of the exploits of Timour, appears to be, in moſt caſes, an abſolute ſtranger to the ſecret ſprings and motives which influenced his conduct.

 AND

چون خبر زانو زدن فرزندان بمسامع امرا
ونونیان رسیده هکي توي دل کشته دل نهاد جنک
شدند
وامیر زاده ابا بکر با هشت هزار سوار هراول
ساختم وچون آتش قتال وجدال بلند شد امر کردم
که خیمهارا بر پا سازند وبطبخ طعام مشغول شوند
ودرین وقت علم تغتمش خان سر نکون
شد وتغتمش خان شکسته رکاب وکسسته عنان
الوس جوجی را بباد غارت داده پشت بمعرکه کرد
وفرار نمود

کنکاشي که در تسخیر دار الاسلام
بغداد وعراق عرب کردم این بود
که بعد از آنکه عراق عجم وفارس را
مسخر ساختم درین وقت مکتوب قطب الاقطاب پیر
من بمن رسید که قهرمان عراق عرب وعجم عراق را
بتو ارزاني داشته
در تسخیر بغداد چنین کنکاش کردم
که اول ایلچي نزد سلطان احمد جلایر فرستادم تا

† i. e. At the time that the advanced guard was engaged, Timour, assured of success from his intrigue with the standard-bearer of Touktummish,

احوال

Book I.

AND when it reached the ears of the Ameers and the Leaders, that my children had kneeled before me, and had offered to devote their lives unto me, they became ſtrong of heart, and they reſolved on battle.

AND I appointed the prince Abau Bukkur, with eight thouſand horſemen, the advanced guard. And when the flames of war and of ſlaughter aſcended high, I commanded that the tents ſhould be pitched, and that they ſhould prepare victuals. †

AND at this time the ſtandard of Touktummiſh Khaun was inverted: and Touktummiſh, diſmayed and confounded, gave the tribe of Jouji to the wind of deſolation; and turned his back on the field of ſlaughter, and fled.

THE DESIGN which I formed for the reduction of Bughdaud (the city of Iſlaum) and Erauk a Arrub, was this.

AFTER I had ſubdued Erauk a Ajjum and Fauris, in thoſe days a letter from Koottub ul Aktaub, my PEER, came unto me, ſaying, "The lord of Erauk "a Ajjum and Arrub hath given Erauk unto thee."

AND thus I acted in the reduction of Bughdaud. I firſt ſent an ambaſſador to Sooltaun Ahmud Jullauir, that he might inform himſelf of the prowefs

miſh, ordered in contempt the cavalry of his main body to diſmount and prepare their victuals Vid. *Hiſt. Timur-Bec*, Tom. II. p. 114.

and

احوال شجاعت ومعاش سلطان احمد والي بغداد
ولشکر ویرا معلوم نماید
وایلچي به بغداد رفته بمن عرضه داشت
نمود که سلطان احمد پارچه کوشتي است ودو
چشم دارد
من تکیه بر تایید ایزدي نموده ایلغار
کردم وخودرا باستعجال به بغداد رسانیدم وسلطان
احمد جلایر قرار بر فرار داده وبطرف کربلا کریخت
ودار الاسلام بغداد مسخر من کشت

کنکاشي که در استیصال تغتمش خان
کردم این بود
که چون الوس جوجي خان را بغارت
داده وهزیمت یافته بود در وقت فرصت لشکرهاي
کران از راه دربند وشیروان بر ولایت اذربایجان
فرستاد وآغاز فتنه وفساد کرد ومن چون عراقین را
مسخر ساخته بودم در استیصال وي چنین کنکاش
کردم که با لشکرهاي فراوان از راه دربند
بدشت قبچاق در آیم
وعرض لشکر خودرا ملاحظه نمودم
لشکرهاي من تا چهار فرسنک راه یسال بسته ایستاده
بودند شکر آلهي بجاي آوردم
واز

and the conduct of Sooltaun Ahmud the ruler of Bughdaud, and of the strength of his forces. Book I.

AND the ambassador went to Bughdaud, and wrote word unto me, saying, "Behold, Sultaun Ahmud is a piece of animated flesh: and lo, he hath two eyes." †

AND I rested on the favour of the Almighty; and I marched with speed, and I came to Bughdaud suddenly. And Sooltaun Ahmud Jullauir resolved on flight, and he fled toward Kurbullau: and Bughdaud, (the house of Islaum) was conquered.

THE DESIGN which I formed for extirpating Touktummish Khaun was this.

AFTER he had given up the tribe of Jouji to the wind of desolation, and had been put to flight; he, in the hour of advantage, sent down a mighty army on the kingdom of Azzurbauejan by the way of Durbund and Sharevaun, and began to raise commotions therein. And when I had conquered the two Erauks, thus I resolved to destroy him — that I would go into the Dusht of Kipchauk with a mighty army by the way of Durbund.

AND I reviewed my armies, and, behold, they stood on four fursungs of ground ‡ in battle array: and I gave thanks to God.

† A mode of speech used by the ambassador to express his contempt of the abilities of Sooltaun Ahmud. ‡ About 13 English miles.

AND

واز آب تیمور عبور نموده بایل والوس

دشت برلیغها نوشتم که هر کس بمن در آید بر آید

وهر کس در افتد بر افتد

ودر سنه ۷۹۷ بدشت قبچاق در آمدم

وتا اقصاي زمین شمال رفتم وایل والوس جوجي را

که راه مخالفت من مي پیمودند خراب ومستاصل

ساختم وولایت والوسات وقلعهاي اقلیم پنجم وششم را

مسخر ساختم ومظفر ومنصور معاودت نمودم

کنکاشي که در تسخیر هندوستان

کردم این بود که اول بسبیل مزاج داني از

فرزندان وامرا کنکاش خواستم

امیر زاده پیر محمد جهانکیر

کفت که چون مملکت هند را بکیریم از زر هند

عالم کیر شویم

وامیر زاده محمد سلطان کفت هند را

میکیریم لیکن هندوستان را حصارها است اول درباها

دوم جنکلها وبیشها سیوم سپاه سلاح دار وفیلان

آدم شکار

امیر

AND I croffed the waters of Timour †. Book I.
And I wrote mandates to the people, and the tribes of the Dufht of Kipchauk, faying; Whoever cometh in unto me, let him come; and whoever refufeth, let him refufe.

AND in the year feven hundred and ninety A.D. 1394.
feven I entered the Dufht of Kipchauk. And I went to the boundaries of the land of the north; and the people, and the tribes of Jouji, who oppofed me, I deftroyed. And I fubdued the countries and the caftles of the fifth and of the fixth region. ‡ And I returned victorious and triumphant.

MY DESIGN, for reducing the empire of Hindoftaun, was this. Firft, to difcover the thoughts of my Sons and of my Ameers, I demanded counfel of them.

THE prince Peer Mahummud Jehaungheer faid; "Behold, when we fhall fubdue the empire of "Hind, with the gold of Hind, we fhall become the "conquerors of the world."

AND the prince Mahummud Sooltaun fpoke, faying; "We may fubdue Hind: yet Hindo-"ftaun hath many ramparts. Firft, the rivers; and fe-"condly, the wilderneffes and the forefts; and thirdly, "the foldiers clad in armour; and fourthly, the ele-"phants, deftroyers of men."

† The word *Timour* is probably an error.

‡ He penetrated to Mofcow, at that time the capital of Ruffia, which he pillaged. Vid. *Hift. Timur-Bec*, Tom. II. p. 363. See alfo note on p. 131.

امیر زاده سلطان حسین کفت که
چون هندرا بکیریم بر چهار اقلیم حاکم وفرمان فرما
کردیم
امیر زاده شاه رخ کفت که در قوانین
ترک خوانده ام که پنج پادشاه عظیم الشان اند که
از بزرکي ایشانرا بنام نمیخوانند پادشاه هندرا دارا
میکویند وپادشاه روم را قیصر میخوانند وپادشاه خطا
وچین وماچین را فغفور مینامند وپادشاه ترکستان را
خاقان میکویند وپادشاه ایران وتوران را شهنشاه
میخوانند وحکم شهنشاه همیشه بر ممالک هندوستان
جاري بوده وچون ایران وتوران زمین بتصرف ما
است لازم است که هندوستان را هم مسخر
کردانیم
وامرا کفتند که اکرچه هندرا میکیریم
لیکن اکر اقامت نماییم نسل ما ضایع شود واولاد
واحفاد ما از ترکیب بدر آیند وهندي زبان کردند
چون بر عزیمت تسخیر هند کمر همت
بسته بودم نخواستم که ترک عزیمت خود نمایم ودر
جواب ایشان کفتم که به تنکري تعالي متوجه میشوم
واز قران فال جنک مي بینم تا انچه امر تنکري
تعالي

THE prince Sooltaun Hooſſein ſpoke, and ſaid; "When we ſhall have conquered Hindoſtaun, we "ſhall become the lords and the rulers of four re- "gions." † Book I.

THE prince Shaahrokh ſaid; "I have read "in the Toorki annals, that there are five mighty "kings, whom, becauſe of their greatneſs, they mention "not by their names. For, behold, they call the king "of Hind, Daurau; and the king of Room they call "Keeſur; and the king of Khuttun, and Cheen, and "Maucheen, they ſtile Fughfoor; and they call the king "of Toorkiſtaun, Khaukaun; and they call the lord of "Eraun, and of Tooraun, King of kings. And, lo! "the power of the King of kings hath, in all times, been "over the empire of Hindoſtaun: and ſince the land of "Eraun, and the land of Tooraun are in our hands, it "behoveth us to conquer Hindoſtaun alſo."

THE Ameers ſpoke, and ſaid; "Although "we may ſubdue Hind, yet if we tarry in that land, our "poſterity will be loſt; and our children, and our grand "children, will degenerate from the vigour of their fore- "fathers, and become ſpeakers of the language of Hind."

AND I had reſolved on the conqueſt of Hindoſtaun, and I was loth to deſiſt from my reſolution: and I anſwered them, ſaying; "I will turn to Almighty "God, and I will ſeek the ſign of war in the KORAUN,

† i.e. Four ſevenths of the known world. For the Arabians and Perſians, following the antient Greek writers, diſtribute what they imagine the habitable parts of the earth, into ſeven regions or climates.

تعالي باشد بدآن عمل نمايم وايشان همه قبول كردند

چون از مصحف مجيد فال كشادم اين آية كريمه بر آمد يا ايها النبي جاهد الكفار والمنافقين †

وچون علما مضمون آية را بامرا خاطر نشان كردند سرها در زير انداخته خاموش شدند ومرا دل از خاموشي ايشان افسرده شد

بخود كنكاش كردم كه امراي كه به تسخير هندوستان راضي نميشوند ايشانرا از مرتبه امارت بيندازم وافواج وقشونات ايشانرا بكوتل* ارزاني دارم ليكن چون تربيت كرده من بودند نخواستم كه ايشانرا خراب سازم وبديشان ملايمت كردم اكرچه ايشان خون در دل من انداختند ليكن چون آخر متفق شدند چيزي در خاطر نياوردم

ومرتبه ديكر كنكاش كردم وپيشخانه اقبال بجانب هندوستان بر آورده فاتحه فتح خواندم

وكنكاش تعين نمودن لشكرها بر دار الملك هندوستان چنين كردم كه امير زاده پير محمد جهانكيررا با سي هزار سوار لشكر جرانغار* كه در كابل بود امر نمودم كه از راه كوه سليماني رفته واز آب سند كذشته بر ولايت ملتان تركتاز آورد ومسخر كرداند وسلطان

† Arabic.

"that whatever be the will of God, that I may do." Book I.
And they all confented thereto.

AND when I fought an omen in the holy book, this facred verfe came forth — "O PROPHET "FIGHT WITH THE INFIDELS AND THE UNBE-"LIEVERS." And when the doctors of the law explained the meaning of the verfe to the Ameers, they hung down their heads, and they were filent. And my heart was grieved by their filence.

AND I deliberated with myfelf concerning the Ameers who oppofed the reduction of Hindoftaun, whether I fhould throw them down from their commands, and give their troops, and their Kufhoons to their Kotuls: but fince I myfelf had exalted them, I fought not to pull them down. And I treated them with kindnefs: and although they had angered me, yet, as they were unanimous at laft, I regarded it not.

AND I called a council a fecond time; and having pitched my tents toward Hindoftaun, I repeated the prayer of victory.

THUS I refolved to fend down armies on the chief city of Hindoftaun. I commanded the prince Peer Mahummud Jehaungheer, who was at Kaubul with thirty thoufand horfemen of the left wing of the army, that, going by the way of the mountain of Soolamaun, and croffing the Sind, he fhould go down upon Mooltaun and fubdue it.

AND

وسلطان محمد خان وامير زاده رستم را
وديكر امرا را با سي هزار سوار برانغار* امر نمودم كه از
آب سند كذشته از راه دامن كوه كشمير بر ولايت
لاهور تركتاز آورند   ومن خود با سي ودو هزار سوار
قول* شدم

وچون مجموع لشكر من نود ودو هزار
سوار بودند موافق ومطابق عدد اسم محمد رسول الله
صلي الله عليه وآله وسلم اين عدد را بفال نيكو
ومبارك كرفتم

وسوار شدم ودر موضع اندرآب سرحد
بدخشان فرود آمدم وتنبيه كفار كوه كتور نموده متوجه
غزاي دار الحرب هندوستان شدم

وكنكاش پاك ساختن راه هندوستان از
اوغانيان چنين كردم

كه چون بعرض من رسيد كه بعضي از
اوغانيان متعرض راه هندوستان شده رهزني مينمايند
خصوصا موسي اوغان كه كلانتر قبيله كركس است
وبر لشكر شاه اوغان كه از چاكران ودولتخواهان

† According to D'Herbelot (*Bibl. Orientale*, p. 603.) the Mahummudans have given 99 names or attributes to their prophet, the same number by which they distinguish the Creator. By this account the names of the pro-
phet

AND I ordered Sooltaun Mahummud Khaun, and the prince Rooſtum, and other Ameers with thirty thouſand horſemen of the right wing, that, croſſing the waters of Sind, they ſhould go down on the country of Lahore, by the way of the ſkirts of the mountains of Kuſhmeer. And I myſelf with thirty and two thouſand horſemen, was the main body.

AND behold the whole of my army was ninety and two thouſand horſemen, correſponding and according to the number of the names of Mahummud, the prophet of God, † (be the bleſſing of the Almighty on him and on his poſterity) and I took this number as a fortunate and an happy omen.

AND I ſet out, and I came and pitched my tents at Anduraub on the border of Budukhſhaun: and having puniſhed the infidels of the mountains of Kuttoor, I went on to the holy war of Hindoſtaun.

THE DESIGN which I formed for clearing the road to Hindoſtaun, from the Oughauns, ‡ was this.

IT was reported unto me that certain of the Oughauns infeſted the road to Hindoſtaun, and robbed and plundered therein: and eſpecially Mooſi the Oughaun, who was the head of the tribe of Gurkus. And he came down on Luſhkur Shaah the Oughaun, who was one

phet appear to be only ninety two in number, which ſeems moſt probable.

‡ Or Afghauns. The word is written ſometimes *Oughaun* and ſometimes *Afghaun* in the MS.

من بود وويرا امير زاده پير محمد به محافظت قلعه ايراب كذاشته بود تركتاز آورد وويرا بقتل رسانيد وهرچه داشتند ونداشتند بغارت داده وهمدرين وقت ملك محمد برادر لشكر شاه آمده داد فرياد كرده حقيقت كشته شدن برادر خوردرا از تعدي موسي بعرض رسانيد

ومن بحبس وي فرمان دادم وكفتم كه موسي دولتخواهي من است وامراي من سخن بر ظلم من كردند

اما چون خبر حبس ملك محمد وحرف من بكوش موسي رسيد قوي دل كشت وچون يرليغ طلب كه نوشته بودم بوي رسيد بي دهشت آمد وقلعه را پيشكش كرد

چون من بتماشاي آن قلعه رفتم يكي از سپاهيان وي تيري بقصد من انداخت وموسي بسزا وجزاي خود رسيد وراه هندوستان مفتوح شد

كنكاشي كه در شكست دادن سلطان محمود حاكم دهلي وملو خان كردم اين بود

† When Moosi submitted, Timour found it prudent to continue him for a time in his government, and supplied him with people and necessaries to put the castle of Ireaub in a proper state of defence. The emperor, on his

كه

one of my ſervants and well-wiſhers (and the prince Peer Mahummud had left him to defend the caſtle of Ireaub) and he ſlew him, and plundered all that he had. And at this time Mullik Mahummud, the brother of Luſhkur Shaah, came and demanded juſtice; and he ſet forth unto me the murder of his brother by the cruelty of Mooſi.

AND I gave orders that Mullik Mahummud ſhould be thrown into priſon; and I ſaid that Mooſi was my well-wiſher; and my Ameers ſpoke of my injuſtice.

BUT when the news of the confinement of Mullik Mahummud, and of that which I had ſaid, reached the ears of Mooſi, he became ſtrong of heart. And when the mandate which I had written unto him arrived, he came without fear and he delivered up the caſtle.

AND when I went to view the caſtle, one of his ſoldiers ſhot an arrow with an intention to ſlay me: and Mooſi met with his reward. † And the road to Hindoſtaun was open.

THE DESIGN which I formed for vanquiſhing Sooltaun Muhmood the ruler of Dehli, and Mulloo Khaun, was this.

his arrival in that neighbourhood, went to view the caſtle; when one of the people of Mooſi let fly an arrow at him. As he had all along determined to chaſtiſe Mooſi, he immediately cauſed him to be ſeized and put to death. Vid. *Hiſt. Timur-Bec*, Tom. III. p. 39.

که سلطان محمود وملو خان با پنجاه
هزار سوار وپیاده ویک صد وبیست زنجیر فیل قلعه
دهلي را استحکام داده بقصد جنگ من در آمد

وبخاطرم خطور کرد که اکر بکرفتن قلعه
دهلي مقید شوم مبادا کار بدور ودراز بکشد

با خود کنکاش کردم که خودرا زبون
نمودار کردانم تا آنکه غنیم دلیر شود بجنک صف
مبادرت نماید

واز این جهت در دور لشکر خندق کندم
ومیان خندق خودرا استوار ساختم وفوجي را باستقبال
ایشان فرستادم وامر کردم که خودرا زبون وترسان
نمودار ساخته غنیم را دلیر سازند

وچون غنیم خودرا غالب یافت خیره
شده در میدان آمده با افواج قاهره رو برو شدند
وسلطان محمود حاکم دهلي بجنک مبادرت نمود
وشکست یافت وبطرف کوهستان بکریخت وغنایم واموال
بي قیاس از نقود واجناس نصیب سپاهیان من شد

ودر میان یک سال دار الملک هند را مسخر
ساختم ودر اواخر سنه مذکور بدار السلطنت سمرقند
معاودت نمودم

کنکاشي

SOOLTAUN Muhmood and Mulloo Khaun, Book I. with fifty thoufand men, horfemen and footmen, and one hundred and twenty elephants, made ftrong the caftle of Dehli, and prepared to oppofe me.

AND it came into my mind, that if I fhould refolve on fubduing the caftle of Dehli, perhaps the war might be long and tedious.

AND I counfelled with myfelf, that I would make myfelf appear weak in their fight; that the enemy might gain courage, and come, and fight with me on the plain.

AND on this account I dug a ditch round my army, and I ftrengthened myfelf within that ditch: and I fent a force to meet them. And I commanded the foldiers that they fhould fhow themfelves weak and fearful, that they might give courage to the enemy.

AND when the enemy found themfelves powerful, they exulted: and they came into the plain, and they oppofed my victorious armies face to face. And Sooltaun Muhmood, the ruler of Dehli, came into battle, and he was defeated, and he fled toward the mountains. And fpoils and wealth above meafure, in money and in effects, fell to the lot of my foldiers.

AND in the fpace of one year I conquered the chief city of Hind: and at the end of the fame year I returned toward the imperial city of Summurkund.

کنکاشي که در تسخیر ممالك کرجستان
کردم این بود
که چون از هندوستان مظفر ومنصور
معاودت نمودم هنوز از رنج سفر هند نیاسوده بودم
که عرایض حکام عراقین رسید که کفار کرجستان قدم
از جادهء حد خود بیرون کذاشته اند
وهمیشه در فکر مي بودم که پادشاهانرا
بهتر از غزا وجهاد با کفار وملک کیري وجهان
ستاني چیزي دیکر نیست
ودرین وقت که خبر طغیان کرجستانیان
بي ایمان رسید کنکاش کردم که اکر دفع ورفع ایشان
اهمال نمایم مبادا مفسدان آن دیار بطغیان در آیند
ودر دفع ایشان سرعت بکار بردم
وسپاهیان را که از یساق هند آمده
بودند مختار ساختم که هرکس خواهد بجاي خویش
باشد وهرکس خواهد همراهي نماید
وبلشکرهاي خراسان وقندهار وسیستان
وکرمان وطبرستان وکیلان ومازندران وفارس یرلیغها
صادر کردم که تهیه یساق نمایند ودر حوالي اصفهان
آیند وبلشکر ظفر اثر ملحق شوند
وکنکاش

THE DESIGN which I formed for ſubduing the countries of Goorjiſtaun, was this.

WHEN I returned victorious and triumphant from Hindoſtaun, I had not yet reſted from the fatigues of the war of Hind, when the petitions of the governors of the two Erauks arrived, ſaying; "The infidels of Goorjiſtaun have advanced beyond their boundaries."

AND, behold, I at all times thought that there was nought more worthy the valour of princes than the conquering of kingdoms and empires, and the waging holy wars with infidels and unbelievers.

AND, in thoſe days, when the news of the irruption of the infidel inhabitants of Goorjiſtaun arrived, I reflected, that if I delayed to chaſtiſe them, perhaps the ſeditious of that country might riſe into open rebellion: and in chaſtiſing them I uſed expedition.

AND I gave liberty to the ſoldiers, who had returned from the war of Hind, that every one of them who choſe to ſtay at home, might ſtay; and that every one who choſe to go with me, might go.

AND I ſent forth orders to the armies of Khorauſaun and Kundahaur, and Seiſtaun and Kurmaun, and Tubburiſtaun, and Kilaun, and Mauzinduraun, and Fauris; that they ſhould make ready for war, and come down into the neighbourhood of Isfahaun, and be united to my victorious forces. †

† i. e. To the army which he commanded in perſon.

AND

وکنکاش کردم که کردن کشان هر
ملک را متفرق سازم † چنانچه بعضي کردن کشان
خراسان وفارس را بتوران زمین فرستادم وساحت آن
ممالک را از مخالفت ایشان پاک ساختم ‡ وبه تسخیر
قلاع ولایت کرجستان عنان عزیمت مصروف نمودم

وبه کنکاشي که پسندیده سپاهیان بود
عمل مینمودم وخود فولادي بر سر نهادم وزره داودي
در بر کردم وشمشیر مصري حمایل نمودم وبر سریر
مبارزت نشستم

ودلیران توران وبهادران خراسان ومردان
مازندران وکیلان را نهیب دادم وقلعه سیواس وقلاع
کرجستان را مسخر ساختم وجماعه که در قلعه ها
بودند همکي را مستاصل کردانیدم وغنایم آن قلعه ها
را بر عساکر منصوره قسمت نمودم ومفسدان واوباش
اذربایجان را تنبیه کردم

وبعد از آن متوجه بتسخیر قلاع ملطیه
وآن حوالي شدم وچون خاطرم از تسخیر ونسق قلاع

† Viz. To ſet forward in great martial pomp, as afterwards deſcribed.

‡ Timour, in his firſt incurſion into Georgia, reduced Tiflis the capital, and took priſoner Ipocrates the chriſtian king of that country, who afterwards

جهم

AND I resolved that I would disperse and scatter abroad the rebellious and seditious of every country. Thus I sent into the land of Tooraun certain of the seditious of Khorausaun and of Fauris, and delivered those countries from their machinations. And I turned the reins of my intention to the reduction of the castles of Goorjistaun. Book I.

AND I determined on that measure which was agreeable to my soldiers. † And I placed a helmet of steel on my head, and I cloathed myself in the armour of Dauood, ‡ and I hung a scymetar of Missur by my side, and I sat on the throne of war.

AND I let loose the brave men of Tooraun, and the valiant men of Khorausaun, and the mighty men of Mauzinduraun, and of Kilaun; and I subdued the castle of Seewaus, and the castles of Goorjistaun; and I destroyed all the people who were in those castles: and the spoils of those castles I divided among my victorious forces. And I chastised the seditious and the plunderers of Azzurbaucjaun.

AND after this I went to reduce the castles of Mulluteah and the neighbourhood thereof. And when I had subdued the castles, and had taken possession of them,

wards turned Mahummudan, and became a great favourite with Timour; to whom he gave a suit of Armour, which he pretended Dauood (i.e. David) the king of Israel had forged with his own hands in a smith's shop. Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. I. p. 400.

This is the armour which Timour put on, on the present occasion.

I resolved

جمع شد بر تسخیر حلب وحمسا همت بستم وباندک توجهي آن مملکت را مفتوح ساختم وکمر عزیمت بر تسخیر ممالک مصر وشام بستم

وکنکاشي که در مفتوح ساختن مصر وشام کردم این بود

که چون خبر شوکت وقدرت من بمسامع قیصر رسید که قلاع سیواس وملطیه وتوابع آنرا مسخر کردم ولشکرهاي ویرا که در قلاع بودند همکي متفرق وپراکنده کردانیدم عرق غیرت وي بحرکت در آمد وباغواي قرا یوسف ترکمان که از صدمهء لشکر من کریخته بود وپناه بقیصر برده بود بجنک قرار داد

ونکبت وزوال قیصر نزدیک رسیده بود وقرا یوسف ویرا ترغیب نمود که بر من لشکر کشد وقیصر باغواي قرا یوسف با لشکر کران بحرکت در آمد وافواج مصر وشام را هم بمدد خواسته بود

ومن کنکاش کردم که اکر من هم لشکر خودرا سه فوج سازم بهتر است اما فتح وهزیمت در پرده تقدیر محجوب اند واز امرا کنکاش خواستم وسپاهیانه کنکاش کفتند که بجنک مبادرت باید نمود

وچون

I resolved to conquer Hullub and Humsau: † and I subdued that country with little labour. And I girded up the loins of my resolution to subdue the countries of Missur and of Shaum. ‡ Book I.

THE DESIGN which I formed for the reduction of Missur and of Shaum, was this.

WHEN the news of my power and my strength reached the ears of Keesur, || that I had conquered the castles of Seewaus and Mulluteah, and the dependencies thereof, and that I had dispersed and defeated all his soldiers, who were in those castles, he was very wroth. And at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoof, the Toorkumaun (who had fled from the shock of my army, and had sought shelter with Keesur) he resolved on war.

AND, behold, the ruin and overthrow of Keesur was at hand; and Kurrau Eusoof urged him that he should draw an army upon me. And Keesur, at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoof, came down with a mighty army; and he called the forces of Missur and of Shaum to his aid.

AND I reflected, that if I also divided my people into three armies, it would be better. But, behold, victory and defeat are hidden by the curtain of fate: and I demanded counsel of my Ameers. And they gave soldier-like counsel, saying, "Thou must go down to battle "with speed."

† Aleppo and Emessa. ‡ Egypt and Syria.

|| Cæsar: the title given by the Asiatic nations to the Turkish emperors.

وچون بخود فکر کردم چنین کنکاش
یافتم که آتش قیصر را بگرمی وسردی اطفا نمایم
ومکتوبی بقیصر نوشتم وخلاصه مضمونش آنکه
شکر است خداوند زمین وآسمان را که
اکثری از ممالک هفت اقلیم را در زیر فرمان من در
آورده وسلاطین وحکام عالم حلقه اطاعت مرا در گوش
جان کشیده اند خدای رحمت کند بر آن بنده که
حد خودرا بشناسد وپا جسارت از حد خویش فراتر ننهد
وبر عالمیان ظاهر است که نسب ونسبت
تو بکجا منتهی میشود پس مناسب حال تو آنست
که قدم جسارت پیش نگذاری وخودرا در ورطه رنج وبلا
نیندازی وباغواء جمعی از دولت راندگان که بواسطه
اغراض خود پناه بتو برده اند وفتنه خوابیده را بیدار
ساخته اند در فتنه وآشوب را بر روی دولت خود وا
نکنی لیکن که قرا یوسف را نزد من فرستی والا آنچه
در پرده تقدیر است بعد از مقابله صفین بر تو ظاهر
خواهد شد

وچون این نامه را مصحوب ایلچیان
کاردان نزد قیصر فرستادم کنکاش خود را
درین

AND when I reflected by myfelf, thus I found it was good, that I fhould extinguifh the fire of Keefur by policy. And I wrote a letter to Keefur; and the fubftance of it was this.

"PRAISE is due to the God of the uni-"verfe, that he hath brought under my authority many "of the kingdoms of the feven regions of the world, "and that the princes and rulers of the earth have fub-"mitted unto me. May God be merciful to that fer-"vant who knoweth his own limits, and who placeth not "the foot of temerity beyond his proper bounds.

"WHERE thy race and lineage endeth, is "known to all men. † It is therefore worthy of thy "condition, that thou advance not forward the foot of "prefumption, and that thou throw not thyfelf into the "abyfs of affliction and calamity; and that thou open "not the door of difcord and defolation on thy empire at "the inftigation of the evil-minded, who have fled unto "thee for their own ends, and have awakened the fleep-"ing deftruction; but that thou fend bound unto me "Kurrau Eufoof, the Toorkumaun: otherwife, that "which is concealed by the curtain of fate, after our "armies meet, will be known unto thee."

WHEN I had fent the letter to Keefur by the hands of experienced ambaffadors, I found my advan-

† Alluding to the defcent of Bajazet, which was fuppofed to have been from a Toorkumaun failor.

 tage

درين يافتم كه بجانب دار ملك شام نهضت نمايم
واز راه حمص وحلب روان شدم وچون بحلب رسيدم
شنيدم كه ملك فرج پسر ملك برقوق از شنيدن خبر
رسيدن من از مصر متوجه دمشق شد

ومن ايلغار كردم كه افواج مصر وشام را
نگذارم كه بيكديگر ملحق شوند وملك فرج پيش
دستي كرده خودرا بدمشق رسانيد ومن در عقب
وي رسيده دمشق را مسخر ساختم

كنكاشي كه در تسخير بلاد روم وشكست
دادن قيصر كردم اين بود

كه چون بلاد شام را مسخر گردانيدم
وملك فرج پادشاه مصر وشام از جنگ من بگريخت
وايلچي من از روم با جواب نا صواب ايلدرم بايزيد
مراجعت نمود وعرض كرد كه چون خبر شكست عساكر
مصر وشام بقيصر رسيد متفكر واشفته گرديد وتهيه
يساق نمود

من تسخير دمشق وبلاد الشام نموده
از راه موصل به بغداد نهضت نمودم وكنكاش كردم
كه بجانب ازربايجان متوجه شوم تا قيصر اگر بر
عزيمت خود مصمم باشد ظاهر شود

وچون

tage in this, that I ſhould go toward the chief city of Shaum. And I ſet out by the way of Hums and Hullub. And when I came to Hullub, I heard that Mullik Furruj, the ſon of Mullik Burkook, on hearing the news of my coming from Miſſur, had gone to Dummiſhk. † Book I.

AND I marched with ſpeed, that I might not permit the forces of Miſſur and the armies of Shaum to join themſelves together: but Mullik Furruj was quicker than I, and got to Dummiſhk. And I arrived after him at Dummiſhk, and reduced that city.

THE DESIGN which I formed for ſubduing the cities of Room, and for defeating the armies of Keeſur, was this.

WHEN I had conquered the cities of Shaum, and Mullik Furruj (the king of Miſſur and Shaum) had fled from my battle; my ambaſſador returned from Room, and brought the defiance of Yeldurrum Bauezzeed, ‡ and ſet forth — that when the news of the defeat of the armies of Miſſur and of Shaum came to Keeſur, that he was amazed and confounded, and prepared for war.

HAVING conquered Dummiſhk and the cities of Shaum, I went towards Bughdaud by the way of Mooſul. And I reſolved that I would turn toward Azzurbauejaun, that if Keeſur ſhould perſiſt in his intentions, it might be known.

† Damaſcus. ‡ Bajazet.

AND

وچون بجانب تبريز روانه شدم بعضي از
امير زادكانرا با افواج كران بر سر بغداد فرستادم
وسلطان احمد جلاير فرخ نامي را از نوكران خود
باسباب قلعه داري وجميعت بسيار بمحافظه شهر
وقلعه بغداد كذاشته بود

واميرزادكان به بغداد رسيدند وشهررا
محاصره كردند وكار بجنك انجاميد وحقيقت را
بمن عرضه داشت كردند

ومن كنكاش درين يافتم كه خود رفته
شهر وقلعه بغداد را مستخلص كردانم واز راه تبريز
مراجعت نمودم وايلغار كردم وخودرا به بغداد رسانيدم
وبتدبير واحتياط سپاهكري ولوازم قلعه كيري پرداختم
وبعد از آنكه مدت محاصره بدو ماه وچند روز
كشيد قلعه وشهر مسخر ومفتوح كرديد

وفرخ قلعهدار در آب دجله غرق شد ومن
بشهر در آمدم وامر نمودم كه جميع مفسدان واوباش
شهررا بقتل رسانند وقلعه وعمارت شهررا انداخته
بخاك برابر سازند

واز بغداد بطرف آذربايجان عنان عزيمت
معطوف داشتم وچندكاه در آن مملكت طرح اقامت
انداختم

وچون

AND when I ſet out toward Tubburaze, I ſent down certain of the princes, with a mighty army upon Bughdaud. And Sooltaun Ahmud Jullauir had left one of his ſervants, whoſe name was Furrukh, with numerous forces, and the neceſſaries and the implements of defence, to guard the city and the caſtle of Bughdaud.

AND the princes arrived at Bughdaud, and they ſurrounded the city; and the people in the city oppoſed them: and they informed me thereof.

AND I found it was good that I myſelf ſhould go and reduce the city and the caſtle of Bughdaud. And I turned back by the way of Tubburaze, and I marched with ſpeed, and came to Bughdaud. And I beſieged Bughdaud; and when the ſiege had continued for two months and ſome days, the caſtle and the city of Bughdaud were conquered and ſubdued.

AND Furrukh, the governor, was drowned in the waters of the Tigris. And I entered into Bughdaud, and I commanded that they ſhould ſlay the ſeditious inhabitants of that city; and that they ſhould throw down the caſtle and the buildings thereof, and make them level with the earth.

AND from Bughdaud I turned the reins of my intention toward Azzurbauejaun; and I ſojourned in that kingdom for ſome time.

AND

وچون بمسامع من رسید که قیصر افواج
بر بلاد حلب وحمص ودیار بکر تعین نموده وقرا یوسف
ترکمان که از من گریخته بود وپناه بقیصر برده
براهزنی وآزار قافله که بحرمین شریفین آمد وشد می
نمایند مشغول است ودرین وقت جماعه آمدند واز
تعدی وستم وی داد خواه شدند وبر من لازم شد
که سزای قرا یوسف را در کنارش نهم وقیصر را از
خواب غفلت بیدار سازم

درین باب کنکاش چنین یافتم که از
هر شهری وقبیله لشکر طلب دارم وحشر کرده بر سر
قیصر روان شوم وچون لشکرها جمع آمده بودند در
ماه رجب سنه هشتصد وچهار هجری از ازربایجان
بعزم رزم قیصر روانه شدم

وپیشتر از خود افواج تعین نمودم که
بر مملکت روم ترکتاز آورند وفوج دیکر تعین کردم
که منازل وآب وعلف را ملاحظه کنند واز راه انکوریه
متوجه شدم وقیصر با چهار صد هزار کس از سوار
وپیاده بمقابله ومدافعهء من شتافت وجنک انداختم
وفتح کردم وقیصر را لشکریان من دست کیر کرده
بحضور آوردند وبعد یورش هفت ساله مظفر ومنصور
بسمرقند مراجعت نمودم

AND when it reached my ears that Keesur had sent down armies on Hullub and on Hums, and on Deaur-a-bukkur; and that Kurrau Eusoof, the Toorkumaun (who had fled from before me and sought protection with Keesur) was employed in assaulting and molesting the Kauruvvaun which went to the sacred cities; (and at this time people came and demanded protection from his cruelty and oppression) it became my duty that I should chastise Kurrau Eusoof, and awaken Keesur from the sleep of forgetfulness.

AND in this matter I found it was good, that I should call out the forces of every city and of every tribe, and collect them together and go down upon Keesur. And when my forces were collected together, in the month of Rujjub, in the year of the Hijreh 804, I set out from Azzurbauejaun to wage war with Keesur.

AND I sent an army before me to ravage the kingdom of Room; and I sent another army to examine the stages, and the water, and the forage; and I went by the way of Angooreah. And Keesur with four hundred thousand men, horse-men and foot-men, advanced with speed to oppose and to expel me. And I assaulted him and obtained the victory; and my soldiers seized upon Keesur, and brought him into my presence. And after a war of seven years, I returned victorious and triumphant to Summurkund.

تـزوكات تيمـور

مقالت دوم

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR.

تـزوكـات تـيـمـور

مـقـالـت دوم

فرزندان ملـك كبير كامكار ونبابر ذوي القدر جهاندارراا معلوم باد كه چون از دركاه تنكري تعالـي اميد دارم كه بسياري از فرزنـدان واولاد واحـفـاد من بر مسند سلطنت ومملكت داري خواهند نشست بنابرين بر امور سلطنت خـود تزوكات بر بسته دستور العمل آنرا انشا نمودم كه هريك از فرزندان واولاد واحفاد من بدآن موجب عملنموده دولت وسلطـنـت مرا كه برنجها ومحنتها وتـراقيها وجنكها بتاييدات رباني وميامن نيروي ملت محمدي صلي الله علـيـه وسلم ودوستي آل عظام واصحاب كرام آنحضرت بچنـك اورده ام نكاهباني نـمـايـنـد

وابن

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR.

BE it known to my fortunate ſons, the conquerors of kingdoms; to my mighty deſcendants, the lords of the earth; that ſince I have hope in Almighty God that many of my children, deſcendants, and poſterity, ſhall ſit upon the throne of power and regal authority; upon this account, having eſtabliſhed laws and regulations for the well-governing of my dominions, I have collected together thoſe regulations and laws as a model for others: to the end, that every one of my children, deſcendants, and poſterity, acting agreeably thereto, my power and empire, which I acquired through hardſhips, and difficulties, and perils, and bloodſhed, (by the divine Favour, and by the influence of the holy religion of Mahummud, (God's peace be upon him) and with the aſſiſtance of the powerful deſcendants and illuſtrious followers of that prophet) may be by them preſerved.

AND

واين تزوكات را در امور سلطنت خويش
دستور العمل سازند تا دولت وسلطنتي كه از من
بايشان برسد از خلل وزوال ايمن باشد

اكنون سبيل فرزندان كامياب نامدار
ونباير ممالك ستان ذوي الاقتدار آنكه همچنانچه
من به دوازده امر كه شعار خود ساختم وبمرتبه سلطنت
رسيدم وبدين دوازده امر مملكت كيري وملك
داري كردم واورنك سلطنت خودرا زيب وزينت دادم
ايشان نيز بهمين تزوك عملنمايند ودولت سلطنت
مرا وخودرا نكاهباني كنند

واز جمله تزوكاتي كه بر دولت وسلطنت
خود بر بستم اول اين بود كه دين خدا وشريعت
محمد مصطفي را در دنيا رواج دادم وهميشه وهمه
جاء تقويت دين اسلام نمودم

دويم آنكه با جماعه دوازده طبقه وطايفه
ملك كيري وجهانداري كردم واركان دولت سلطنت
خودرا بديشان استوار نمودم ومجلس خودرا از ايشان

† The maxims here mentioned are not the twelve following rules, but those given at length in the 18th, 19th, and 20th pages of the MS.

آراسته

AND let them make theſe regulations the rule of their conduct in the affairs of their empire, that the fortune, and the power, which ſhall deſcend from me to them, may be ſafe from diſcord and diſſolution. Book II.

NOW therefore be it known to my ſons, the fortunate and the illuſtrious, to my deſcendants, the mighty ſubduers of kingdoms; that, in like manner as I by twelve maxims, † which I eſtabliſhed as the rules of my conduct, attained to regal dignity; and with the aſſiſtance of theſe maxims conquered and governed kingdoms, and decorated and adorned the throne of my empire; let them alſo act according to theſe regulations, and preſerve the ſplendor of mine and their dominions.

AND among the rules which I eſtabliſhed for the ſupport of my glory and empire, the FIRST was this — That I promoted the worſhip of Almighty God, and propagated the religion of the ſacred Mahummud throughout the world; and at all times, and in all places, ſupported the true faith.

SECONDLY, with the people of the twelve claſſes and tribes I conquered and governed kingdoms; and with them I ſtrengthened the pillars of my fortune, and from them I formed my aſſembly. ‡

‡ The twelve claſſes of men, here alluded to, are fully deſcribed in a ſubſequent part of the inſtitutes.

THIRDLY,

آراسته ساختم

سیوم آنکه بمشاورت وکنکاش وتدبیرات
وحزم واحتیاط فوجهارا شکستم وملکهارا مسخر خود
ساختم وامور سلطنت خودرا بمدارا ومروت وتحمل
وتغافل از پیش بردم وبدوستان وبدشمنان مدارا نمودم

چهارم به توره وبه تزوک کارخانه سلطنت
خودرا بند وبست نمودم وبه توره وبه تزوک خودرا
بمرتبه قایم نگاهداشتم که امرا ووزرا وسپاه ورعیت از
مرتبه خود تجاوز نتوانستند نمود وهریک حافظ مرتبه
خود می بودند

پنجم امرا وسپاه خودرا باولی* دادم
وایشان را بزر وزیور خوشدل ساختم ودر بزمها اورن
دادم ودر رزمها جانفشانی کردند ودرم ودینار را از
ایشان دریغ نداشتم وبجهت آسانی کارهای ایشان
محنت ومشقت ایشان را خود بر میداشتم وتربیت
ایشان مینمودم تا آنکه ببازوی مردی ومردانگی

† The word which I have rendered *policy*, cannot be tranflated into the Englifh language with any degree of force or energy. It fignifies *political inattention*

واتفاق

THIRDLY, by consultation, and deliberation, and provident measures; by caution, and by vigilance I vanquished armies, and I reduced kingdoms to my authority. And I carried on the business of my empire by complying with times and occasions, and by generosity, and by patience, and by policy; † and I acted with courteousness towards my friends and towards my enemies.

FOURTHLY, by order and by discipline I regulated the concerns of my government; and by discipline and by order I so firmly established my authority, that the Ameers, and the Vizzeers, and the soldiers, and the subjects, could not aspire beyond their respective degrees; and every one of them was the keeper of his own station.

FIFTHLY, I gave encouragement to my Ameers and to my soldiers, and with money and with jewels I made them glad of heart; and I permitted them to come into the banquet; and in the field of blood they hazarded their lives. And I withheld not from them my gold nor my silver. And I educated and trained them to arms; and to alleviate their sufferings, I myself shared in their labours, and in their hardships; until, with the arm of fortitude and resolution, and with the unanimity of my

inattention or negligence, or *pretending* not to see or discover such things as it would be improper, or impolitical, to take notice of.

واتغاق امرا وسپهسالاران وبهادران بضرب شمشیر تختگاه بیست وهفت پادشاه را مسخر ساختم ودر ممالک ایران وتوران وروم ومغرب وشام ومصر وعراق عرب وعجم ومازندران وکیلانات وشروانات وازربایجان وفارس وخراسان ودشت جته ودشت قبچاق وخوارزم وختن وکابلستان وباختر زمین وهندوستان پادشاه شدم وفرمان فرما کشتم

وچون جامهء سلطنت در پوشیدم از عافیت وغنودن بر بستر راحت چشم پوشیدم واز دوازده سالکي تنرها زدم ومحنتها کشیدم وتدبیرها کردم وفوجها شکستم واز امرا وسپاه نغاقها دیدم وسخنان تلخ شنیدم وبتحهل وتغافل کذرانیدم وبذات خود شمشیرها زدم تا آنکه بر ولایات وممالک مسلط شدم ونامور کشتم

ششم به عدالت وانصاف خلق خدارا از خود راضي داشتم وبر کناه کار وبي کناه رحم کردم

chiefs, and my generals, and my warriors, by the edge
of the ſword I obtained poſſeſſion of the thrones of ſeven and twenty kings; and became the king and the ruler of the kingdoms of Eraun and of Tooraun; and of Room, and of Mughrib, and of Shaum; and of Miſſur, and of Erauk-a-Arrub, and of Ajjum; and of Mauzinduraun, and of Kylaunaut; and of Shurvaunaut, and of Azzurbaucjaun; and of Fauris, and of Khorauſaun; and of the Duſht of Jitteh, and the Duſht of Kipchauk; and of Khauruzm, and of Khuttun, and of Kauboolíſtaun; and of Hindoſtaun, and of Baukhtur Zemeen.

AND when I cloathed myſelf in the robe of empire, I ſhut my eyes to ſafety, and to the repoſe which is found on the bed of eaſe. And from the twelfth year of my age I travelled over countries, and combated difficulties, and formed enterpriſes, and vanquiſhed armies; and experienced mutinies amongſt my officers and my ſoldiers, and was familiarized to the language of diſobedience; (and I oppoſed them with policy and with fortitude) and I hazarded my perſon in the hour of danger; until in the end I vanquiſhed kingdoms and empires, and eſtabliſhed the glory of my name.

SIXTHLY, by juſtice and equity I gained the affections of the people of God; and I extended my clemency to the guilty as well as to the innocent; and I

 paſſed

كردم وحكم بر حق كردم وباحسان در دلهاي خلق
مقام نمودم وبسياست وانصاف سپاه ورعيت مرا در
ميانه اميد وبيم نكاهداشتم وبر رعايا وزبر دستان
ترحم كردم وبسپاه انعام دادم

وداد مظلوم از ظالم كرفتم وبعد از
اثبات ظلم مالي وبدني موافق شرع در ميانه
ايشان محاكمه نمودم وبكناه ديكري
ديكري را نكرفتم

وكساني كه بمن بديها كرده بر من
شمشيرها كشيده بودند ودر كار من شكستها
رسانيده بودند چون بمن التجا آوردند اعزاز ايشان
نموده بر مرتبه ايشان افزودم وبر كردارهاي بد ايشان
قلم نسيان كشيدم وبنوعي بايشان سلوك نمودم
كه اكر خدشه در خاطر ايشان بود بالكليه
محو شد

هفتم سادات وعلما ومشايخ وعقلا
ومحدثين اخبارا بركزيده داشتم وتعظيم واحترام
ايشان نمودم وارباب شجاعت را دوست داشتم چه

تنكري

paſſed that ſentence which truth required: and by benevolence I gained a place in the hearts of men; and by rewards and puniſhments I kept both my troops and my ſubjects divided between hope and fear. And I compaſſionated the lower ranks of my people, and thoſe who were diſtreſſed. And I gave gifts to the ſoldiers.

AND I delivered the oppreſſed from the hand of the oppreſſor; and after proof of the oppreſſion, whether on the property or the perſon, the deciſion which I paſſed between them was agreeable to the ſacred law. And I did not cauſe any one perſon to ſuffer for the guilt of another. †

THOSE who had done me injuries, who had attacked my perſon in battle, and had counteracted my ſchemes and enterpriſes, when they threw themſelves on my mercy, I received them with kindneſs; I conferred on them additional honours, and I drew the pen of oblivion over their evil actions. And I treated them in ſuch ſort, that if ſuſpicion remained in their hearts, it was plucked out entirely.

SEVENTHLY, I ſelected out, and treated with eſteem and veneration, the poſterity of the Prophet, and the Theologians, and the Teachers of the true Faith, and the Philoſophers, and the Hiſtorians. And I loved

† In this obſervation he alludes to a too frequent cuſtom of the Eaſt, of involving the whole family and connections of an attainted perſon in the ſame puniſhment with the guilty ſubject.

men

تنكري تعالي شجاع را دوست ميدارد وبا علما
صحبت داشتم وبر دلهاي اصحاب قلوب رفتم واز ايشان
دريوزه همت نمودم واز انفاس متبركه ايشان التماس
فاتحه كردم ودرويشان وفقرا را دوست داشتم
وايشان را آزرده ومحروم نساختم واشرار وبدكويانرا
در مجلس خود راه ندادم وبسخن ايشان عمل نكردم
وبدكويء ايشان را در حق هيچكس نشنيدم

هشتم بعزيمت عمل كردم وبر هر كاري
كه عازم مي شدم همان كار پيش نهاد همت خود
ميساختم وتا باتمام نميرسانيدم دست از آن كار باز
نميداشتم وبر كفتار خود عامل مي بودم وبر
هيچكس سخت نكرفتم وهيچ كاري را به تندي
نكردم تا تنكري تعالي بر من سخت نكيرد وكار
من بر من تنك نسازد
وقوانين وسيرت سلاطين كذشته را از
آدم تا خاتم واز خاتم تا اين دم از دانايان پرسش
نمودم وسلوك ومعاش وافعال واقوال يكان يكان را
بخاطر آوردم واز اخلاق حسنه وصفات پسنديده ايشان
نسخه برداشتم وسبب زوال دولتهاي ايشان پرسش
نمودم

men of courage and valour; for God Almighty loveth the brave. And I aſſociated with good and learned men; and I gained their affections, and I entreated their ſupport, and I ſought ſucceſs from their holy Prayers. And I loved the Derviſhes, and the poor; and I oppreſſed them not, neither did I exclude them from my favour. And I permitted not the evil and the malevolent to enter into my council; and I acted not by their advice: and I liſtened not to their inſinuations to the prejudice of others.

EIGHTHLY, I acted with reſolution; and on whatever undertaking I reſolved, I made that undertaking the only object of my attention: and I withdrew not my hand from that enterpriſe, until I had brought it to a concluſion. And I acted according to that which I ſaid. And I dealt not with ſeverity towards any one, and I was not oppreſſive in any of my actions; that God Almighty might not deal ſeverely towards me, nor render my own actions oppreſſive unto me.

AND I enquired of learned men into the laws and regulations of antient princes, from the days of Adam to thoſe of the prophet, and from the days of the Prophet down to this time. And I weighed their inſtitutions, and their actions, and their opinions, one by one. And from their approved manners, and their good qualities, I ſelected models. And I enquired into the cauſes of the ſubverſion of their power, and I ſhunned thoſe

actions

نـمـودم وانچه موجب زوال وانتقال دولت بود از آن اجتناب کردم واز ظلم وفسق که انقطاع نسل میکند وقحط ووبا مي آرد احتراز لازم دانستم

نهم از احوال رعیت آکاه شدم وکلانان ایشان را بمنزله برادر وخوردان ایشان را بجاي فـرزند دانستم وبـر مـزاج وطبایع هر ملـک وهر شهر خودرا وافـق ساخـتـم وبه اهالي واکابر واشراف اشناي کردم ومـوافـق مـزاج وطبیعت وخواهش ایشان بر ایشان حاکم تعین نمودم

واز احوال اهالي هر دیار آکاه مي بودم واخبار نویسان راست قلم با دیانت در هـر مملکت تعین کـردم که کیفیت اطـوار واوضـاع واعمال وافعال سپاه ورعیت را ومواقعي که در میان ایشان بوقوع آید بمن نـویسند واکر خـلاف انچه نوشته بـودنـد بر من ظـاهـر مي شـد اخبار نویسان را سیاست مي نمودم وانچه از ظلم وجـور حاکم وسپاه ورعـیـت مي شنیدم تدارک آنرا بانصاف وعدالت مي کردم

دهـم

actions which tend to the destruction and overthrow of regal authority. And from cruelty and from oppression, which are the destroyers of posterity, and the bringers of famine and of plagues, I found it was good to abstain.

NINTHLY, the situation of my people was known unto me. And those who were great among them, I considered as my brethren; and I regarded the poor as my children. And I made myself acquainted with the tempers and the dispositions of the people of every country and of every city. And I contracted intimacies with the citizens, and the chiefs, and the nobles; and I appointed over them governors adapted to their manners, and their dispositions, and their wishes.

AND I knew the circumstances of the inhabitants of every province. And in every kingdom I appointed writers of intelligence, men of truth and integrity, that they might send me information of the conduct, and the behaviour, and the actions, and the manners, of the troops and of the inhabitants, and of every occurrence that might come to pass amongst them. And if I discovered ought contrary to their information, I inflicted punishment on the intelligencer; and every circumstance of cruelty and oppression in the governors, and in the troops, and in the inhabitants, which reached my ear, I chastised agreeably to justice and equity.

دهم هر طايفه وهر قبيله از ترک وتاجيک
وعرب وعجم که بدولتخانه من در آمدند بزرگان
ايشان را گرامي داشتم وساير ايشانرا فراخور احوال
نوازش نمودم وبه نيکان ايشان نيکي کردم وبدان
ايشانرا به بدي ايشان سپردم

وهر کس بمن دوستي کرد قدر دوستي
ويرا فراموش نکردم وبوي مروت واحسان نمودم وهرکس
خدمت من کرد حق خدمت ويرا ادا کردم وهر
کس بمن دشمني کرد وپشيمان شده بمن التجا
آورد وزانوزد دشمني ويرا فراموش کردم وبدوستي
ومروت خريدار وي شدم

چنانچه شير بهرام امير الوس بمن همراه
بود ودر وقت کار مرا گذاشت وبغنيم ملحق شد
وبر من شمشير کشيد وآخر نمک من ويرا گرفت
وباز بمن التجا آورد وزانوزد چون مردي بود اصيل
ومردانه وکارکرده از کردارها بد وي چشم پوشيدم
وويرا بنواختم وبر مرتبه وي افزودم وويرا بمردانگي
وي بخشيدم

يازدهم

Book II.

TENTHLY, whatever tribe, and whatever hord, whether Toork or Taucheek, or Arrub or Ajjum, came in unto me, I received their chiefs with diſtinction and reſpect, and their followers I honoured according to their degrees and their ſtations. And to the good among them I did good, and the evil I delivered over to their evil actions.

AND whoever attached himſelf unto me, I forgot not the merit of his attachment, and I acted towards him with kindneſs and generoſity: and whoever had rendered me ſervices, I repaid the value of thoſe ſervices unto him. And whoever had been my enemy, and was aſhamed thereof, and flying to me for protection, humbled himſelf before me, I forgot his enmity; and I purchaſed him with liberality and kindneſs.

IN ſuch manner Share Behraum, the chief of a tribe, was along with me. And he left me in the hour of action, and he united with the enemy, and he drew forth his ſword againſt me. And at length my ſalt, which he had eaten, ſeized upon him; and he again fled to me for refuge, and humbled himſelf before me. As he was a man of illuſtrious deſcent, and of bravery, and of experience, I covered my eyes from his evil actions; and I magnified him, and I exalted him to a ſuperior rank; and I pardoned his diſloyalty in conſideration of his valou.

یـازدهـم فرزندان وخـویشان وآشنایـان وهمسایکان وکسانی که با من آشنایی داشتند ایشانرا در وقت دولت ونعمت بنواخـتـم وحق ایشان را ادا کـردم وبا فرزندان وخویشان قطع صلهء رحم ننمودم وبکشتن وبستن ایشان امر نکردم

وهر کسرا بهر طرزی شناخته بودم فراخور شناخت خـود بـسوی سلوک نمودم چون کرم وسرد روزکار بسیار دیدم وتجربها برداشتم با دوست ودشمن سازکاریـهـا کـردم

دوازدهـم سپاه دوست ودشمن را عزیـز داشتم که متاع باقی خـودرا بهال فانی میفروشند ودر معارک ومـهـالـک خـودرا می اندازند وجـان فشانی مینمایند

ومـردی که از جانب دشمن با من خصمی کرد وشمشیر کشید ونسبت با ولی نعمت خود راسخ الاعتقاد بود ویرا بسیار دوست داشتم وچون نزد من آمد قدر ویـرا دانسته معتمد خود ساختم وبوفا وحقیقت ویرا شناختم

† Timour appears to allude to thofe perfons whom he knew in the days of his obfcurity.

ELEVENTHLY, my children, and my relations, and my aſſociates, and my neighbours, and ſuch as had been connected with me, † all theſe I diſtinguiſhed in the days of my fortune and proſperity, and I paid unto them their due. And with reſpect to my family, I rent not aſunder the bands of conſanguinity and mercy; and I iſſued not commands to ſlay them, or to bind them with chains. ‡

AND I dealt with every man, whatever the judgment I had formed of him, according to my own opinion of his worth. As I had ſeen much of proſperity and adverſity, and had acquired knowledge and experience, I conducted myſelf with caution, and with policy, towards my friends and towards my enemies.

TWELFTHLY, ſoldiers, whether aſſociates or adverſaries, I held in eſteem; thoſe who ſell their permanent happineſs to periſhable honour, and throw themſelves into the field of ſlaughter and battle, and hazard their lives in the hour of danger.

AND the man, who drew his ſword on the ſide of my enemy, and committed hoſtilities againſt me, and preſerved his fidelity to his maſter, him I greatly honoured; and when ſuch a man came unto me, knowing his worth, I claſſed him with my faithful aſſociates; and I reſpected and valued his fidelity and his attachment.

‡ This obſervation is ſtrictly conſiſtent with his conduct: for though ſeveral of his relations, and ſome of his children, at different times rebelled againſt him, he ever ſubſtituted *pardon* in the place of *puniſhment*.

AND

وآن سپاهي که حق نمک ووفا داري را
فراموش كرد ووقت كار از صاحب خود رو گردان
شد ونزد من آمد ويرا دشمنترين مردم دانستم

ودر جنگ توقتمش خان امراي وي
بمن پيغامها كردند وعرايض نوشتند وحق نمک
توقتمش خان را كه صاحب ايشان ودشمن من بود
فراموش كردند بر ايشان نفرين كردم که حق ولي
نعمت خودرا فراموش كرده حقيقت ووفارا بر گوشه
نهاده اند ونزد من آمدند با خود گفتم که با مربي
خود چه وفا كردند که با من خواهند كرد

وچون بتجربه من رسيد که هر دولتي
كه به ديني وآييني قايم نباشد وبتوره وتزوک استوار
نبود شكوه وسطوت وبند وبست از آن سلطنت برخيزد
وآن سلطنت مثل مردي برهنه باشد که هرکس ويرا
به بيند چشم بپوشد وچون خانه باشد که سقف
ودر ودربند نداشته باشد وكس ناكس در آن داخل
توانند شد

بدين جهت بناي سلطنت خودرا به
دين وآيين اسلام وبه توره وتزوک استحكام دادم
وواقعات واموري كه مرا در سلطنت پيش مي
آمد

AND the ſoldier, who forgot his duty and his honour, and in the hour of action turned his face from his maſter, and came in unto me, I conſidered as the moſt deteſtable of men. Book II.

AND in the war with Touktummiſh Khaun, his Ameers forgot their duty to Touktummiſh, who was their maſter and my foe, and ſent propoſals and wrote letters unto me. And I uttered execrations upon them; becauſe unmindful of that which they owed to their lord, they had thrown aſide their honour and their duty, and come in unto me. I ſaid unto myſelf, What fidelity have they obſerved to their liege lord? What fidelity will they ſhew unto me?

AND, behold, it was known unto me by experience, that every empire, which is not eſtabliſhed in morality and religion, nor ſtrengthened by regulations and laws, from that empire all order, grandeur and power ſhall paſs away. And that empire may be likened unto a naked man, who, when expoſed to view, commandeth the eye of modeſty to be covered: and it is like unto a houſe, which hath neither roof, nor gates, nor defences; into which, whoever willeth, may enter unmoleſted.

THEREFORE, I eſtabliſhed the foundation of my empire on the morality and the religion of Iſlaum; and by regulations, and laws I gave it ſtability. And by laws and by regulations, I executed every buſineſs and

every

آمد بتوره وتزوک آن کاررا انجام میدادم

واول تزوک که از مشرق دلم سرزد
رواج دین وتقویت شریعت محمدي بود صلي الله
عليه وسلم ودر ممالک واقطار وامصار عالم دين اسلام
وشريعت خير الانام را رواج دادم وسلطنت خودرا
بشريعت آراسته ساختم

تزوک رواج دين مبين چنين کردم که
يکي از سادات ذي قدررا بصدارت اهل اسلام مقرر
کردم که ضبط اوقات نمايد ومتوليان تعين کند
وبهر شهري وبلدي اقضي القضات ومفتي ومحتسب
معين سازد وسيورغال ووظايف از براي سادات وعلما
ومشايخ وارباب استحقاق کرداند

وقاضي از براي عسکر وقاضي
از براي رعيت نصب نمودم وبهر مملکتي

† The man appointed to fill the ſtation mentioned in the original, is called *Sedr*. He is a perſon of great authority in the empire, who has the abſolute

شيخ

every tranſaction that came before me in the courſe of my government. Book II.

AND the firſt regulation which my heart dictated unto me, was the promulgation of the true faith, and the ſupport of the ſacred tenets of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him). And I encouraged the progreſs of the holy laws and the religion of Iſlaum through all the cities, and the provinces, and the kingdoms of the earth; and I adorned my empire by the ſacred laws.

THUS I regulated the promulgation of the true faith. I appointed a man of holineſs,† and of illuſtrious dignity, to watch over the conduct of the faithful, that he might regulate the manners of the times, and appoint ſuperiors in holy offices; and eſtabliſh in every city and in every town a judge of penetration, and a doctor learned in the ſacred law, and a ſupervisor of the markets, of the weights and of the meaſures: and that he might ordain penſions and ſalaries for the deſcendants of the prophet, and for ſuperior eccleſiaſtics, and for holy men, and for men of knowledge.

AND I eſtabliſhed a judge for the army and a judge for the ſubjects: and I ſent into every province

abſolute management of church lands, and what revenues are appropriated towards the maintaining of public ſchools, ſalaries to learned men, and other pious uſes.

 and

شیخ الاسلامي فرستادم که اهل اسلام از معاصي باز دارد وامر معروف نماید

وامر کردم که در هر شهري مساجد وخانقاهها تعمیر نمایند وبر سر راهها رباطات بنا کنند وبر نهرها پل بر بندند

وعلما ومدرسان بهر شهري تعین کردم که اهل اسلام را مسایل دیني وعقاید شرعي تعلیم دهند وعلم دین از تفسیر وحدیث وفقه بمسلمانان درس گویند

وامر نمودم که صدر وقاضي مهمات شرعي ممالک محروسه را بعرض من میرسانیده باشند وامیر عدل تعین نمودم که مرافعات عرفي سپاه ورعیت را بعرض رساند

چون تزوک دین نمودم ودر بلاد اسلام شریعت را رواج دادم وچون اوازه رواج دین واسلام بمسامع صغار وکبار اهل اسلام رسید علماي اسلام فتوي نوشتند —— که چون الله تعالي در هر صد سال مروجي ومجددي از براي رواج وتجدید

and kingdom an inſtructor in the law, to deter the faithful from thoſe things which are forbidden, and to lead them in the truth. Book II.

AND I commanded that they ſhould build places of worſhip and monaſteries in every city; and that they ſhould erect ſtructures for the reception of travellers on the high roads, and that they ſhould make bridges acroſs the rivers.

AND I appointed eccleſiaſtics and religious teachers in every city, to inſtruct the followers of Iſlaum in the abſtruſe and fundamental principles of our holy law; and to preach to them the doctrines of religion, with the holy traditions, and the ſacred commentaries upon them.

AND I ordered that the ſuddur † and the judge, from time to time, ſhould lay before me all the eccleſiaſtical affairs of my empire; and I appointed a judge in equity, that he might tranſmit unto me all civil matters of litigation, that came to paſs amongſt my troops and my ſubjects.

WHEN I had regulated all religious concerns, and had promoted the progreſs of the ſacred tenets throughout the cities of Iſlaum; and when the rumour of the promulgation of the true faith had reached the ears of all ranks of the faithful; the doctors of our holy faith publiſhed a decree — That as Almighty God in each century had ſent a promoter and propagator of the faith,

† Or *Sedr*: ſee note on p. 177.

for

وتجديد دين محمدي صلي الله عليه وسلم بر
مي انكيزد ودرين صد هشتم تجديد دين را
امير صاحب قران نموده پس مجدد دين محمدي
ايشان باشند

ومير سيد شريف كه از فحول علماي
زمان بود درين باب مكتوبي بمن نوشت ـــ كه
اتفاق علماي خلف وسلف برين رفته كه در سر
هر صد سال از حضرت رسالت پناه الله تعالي از براي
رواج دين محمدي صلي الله عليه وسلم مجددي
مي انكيزد وچون درين سر صد هشتم امير
صاحب قران دين متين را رواج داده اند ودر اقطار
وامصار عالم دين واسلام رواج يافته بتحقيق رسيد كه
مروج دين امير صاحب قران است وصورت مكتوب
اينست

كه اللهم انصره من نصر دين محمد
واخذل من خذل دين محمد
چون از زمان هجرت حضرت رسالت
پناه الي يومنا هذا هشت صد سال كذشته ودر سر
هر

for the promulgation and reſtoration of the religion of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him); and as in the eighth century AMEER SAUHIBA KURRAUN† hath reſtored the purity of the holy laws, he therefore muſt be THE RESTORER OF THE RELIGION OF MAHUMMUD. Book II.

AND Meer Siud Shurreef, the moſt reſpectable of the doctors of the age, wrote unto me on this ſubject, ſaying, 'The holy men of all ages have agreed, 'that in every century from the days of the prophet, 'Almighty God hath ſent forth a propagator of the faith, 'for the purpoſe of promulgating the religion of Ma'hummud (God's peace be upon him): and ſince in the 'beginning of this the eighth century, Ameer Sauhiba 'Kurraun, hath propagated the laws of the holy pro'phet, and the true religion hath been diffuſed through'out the different cities and kingdoms of the earth; 'it is apparent that Ameer Sauhiba Kurraun is the true 'promoter and ſupporter of the faith.' And the Letter is this.

"O God aſſiſt thou the promoter of the religion of thy prophet, and abandon thou the deſerter of the faith of Mahummud.

"SINCE from the time of the Hijrut of the great and holy apoſtle down to the preſent period 800 years have elapſed, and ſince the pure and omnipotent

† *Sauhiba Kurraun* is a royal title firſt aſſumed by Timour. It literally ſignifies *Lord of the Conjunction*; it being ſaid, that there was a fortunate conjunction of planets at his birth.

Creator

هر صد سال الله تعالي وتقدس از براي رواج دين
رسول وحبيب خود مروجي ومجددي بر انگيخته
كه تجديد دين وملت آنحضرت نمايد الحمد لله
كه در سر صد هشتم الله تعالي امير صاحب قران را
مجدد ومروج دين اسلام بر انگيخته كه دين
محمدي را در بلاد وممالك رواج داده اند

واز انچه علماي سلف از احوال مجددان
دين تتبع نموده در تصانيف خود نوشته اند ابن اثير
از آنست
كه در سر مايهء اول از هجرت مجدد
دين عمر عبد العزيز است كه چون دين اسلام
بواسطه طعن ولعن كه خوارج بر منابر بر حضرت علي
مي كفتند ضعيف شده بود بر طرف ساخت
وبغض وعداوتي كه ميان اهل اسلام
بوقوع آمده بود چنانچه كروهي خلفاء راشدين را
لعن وطعن مخصوص ميداشتند وجمعي ديكر بر
امير المومنين علي وحسين وعباس لعن ميكردند وبا
يكديكر در مقام تعصب ونقاضت مي بودند رفع
نمود وتجديد دين كرد

ودر

Creator hath in each century inſpired and ſent forth a promoter and reſtorer of religion, for the advancement of the faith of his meſſenger and friend, and the re-eſtabliſhment of his ſacred doctrines; praiſe be to the moſt high! that in the beginning of this the eighth century Ameer Sauhiba Kurraun, who hath encouraged and eſtabliſhed the holy religion of Mahummud in various nations and regions of the earth, is by the Almighty evidently appointed the reſtorer and promoter of the faith of Iſlaum. Book II.

"From all that former Theologians have diſcovered and inſerted in their works concerning the promoters of our holy faith, the following are ſelections.

"In the first century from the Hijrut Omur Abdul Azeez ſtood forth the ſupporter of the faith. For when the holy religion of Iſlaum was weakened by the revilings of the ſchiſmatics, who dared to execrate from their pulpits the moſt excellent Aali, he aboliſhed that profane practice.

"And whereas diviſions and hatred had ſprung up amongſt the followers of Iſlaum, ſo that one faction fulminated curſes on the three orthodox Khalifs, whilſt their opponents denounced execrations on Aali (the commander of the faithful) on Hooſſein and on Ubbaus; and at length proceeded to open diſſentions and hoſtilities; he put an end to thoſe diviſions, and by ſo doing gave ſtrength to our holy law.

ودر سر مایهء دوم مجدد دین مامون
الرشید است که هفتاد دو مذاهب باطله را بر طرف
ومنسوخ ساخته مذهب بر حق سنت وجماعت را رواج
داد وعلي ابن موسي جعفر را رضي الله عنهم از
خراسان طلب نمود وويرا ولي عهد گردانيد وباذن
وي در مملکت تصرف مي نمود

ودر سر مایهء سیوم مروج دین محمدي
صلي الله علیه وسلم مقتدر بالله عباسي است که
چون قوم قرامطه که ریس ایشان ابو طاهر بود بر مکه
معظمه مستولي شد وسي هزار محرم را در روز عرفه
قتل نموده بدرجه شهادت رسانید وحجر الاسودرا
از ارکان خانه کعبه برکند وبلاد اسلام خراب کرده
قتل وغارت مینمود وبدین جهت دین اسلام ضعیف
شد مقتدر بالله بر آن قوم لشکر کشید وایشانرا
برانداخت ودین اسلام وشریعت را رواج داد

ودر سر مایهء چهارم از مروجان دین محمدي
صلي الله علیه وسلم عضد الدوله دیلمي است که
چون

"AND the ſupporter of the faith in the SECOND CENTURY was Maumoon ul Ruſheed. For he abrogated and annulled ſeventy two pernicious and unorthodox tenets, and eſtabliſhed the true rites and ceremonies on the faith of the Sunna, and on the ſacred traditions. And he called Aali, the ſon of Mooſi Jauſir (on whom be the bleſſing of God) from Khorauſaun; and appointed him ſucceſſor to the Immaumut, and with his conſent took poſſeſſion of the government.

"AND in the THIRD CENTURY Mocktaudir Billau Ubbauſi was the promoter of the faith. For when the ſect of the Kuraumuteh, headed by Abou Tauhir, ſeized the holy city of Mecca, and martyred 30,000 pilgrims on mount Auruffaut; when that impious chief cauſed the Black Stone to be torn from the corner of the ſacred Caaba, deſolated the cities of Iſlaum, and plundered and ſlaughtered the inhabitants (by which a mighty blow was given to our holy religion) Mocktaudir Billau drew forth his armies againſt that abandoned ſect, and extirpated them from the face of the earth: and thus ſupported and defended the laws and the faith of Iſlaum.

"AND in the FOURTH CENTURY Azzud u Dowla Delumi was the ſupporter of the religion of Mahummud, on whom be God's peace and bleſſing. For when, on

چون بواسطه فسق وفجور مطيع لامر الله عباسي وظلم توابع ولواحق وي دين اسلام ضعيف شده بود ودر بلاد اسلام انواع فسق ومنهيات شيوع يافته بود عضد الدوله ويرا از خلافت عزل نمود وپسر وي طالع بالله ولي عهد ساخت

وعضد الدوله خود متصدي رواج دين شد ورفع ودفع بدعت ونا مشروعات وظلم وجور نموده شريعت محمدي را رواج داد

ودر سر مايهء پنجم مروج دين وشريعت سلطان سنجر ابن سلطان ملكشاه است كه شيخ احمد جامي وحكيم سنايء معاصر وي بوده واو بديشان مريد بود درين ايام ملاحده وجهال دين اسلام را ضعيف ساخته بودند وي بقتل وقمع ملاحده مبادرت نمود وبمرتبه در اطاعت ومتابعت دين محمدي صلي الله عليه وسلم مبالغه مينمود كه خلاف شريعت از وي امري سر نميزد

ودر سر مايهء ششم مجدد دين غازان خان بن ارغون خان بن هلاكو خانست كه چون دين اسلام بواسطه استيلاي كفره تركستان ضعيف شد

account of the wickedneſs and corruption of Muttei la-umurilla Ubbauſi, and the oppreſſions and perſecutions exerciſed by his ſervants and dependants, our holy religion was neglected, and corruption and impiety became notorious in the cities of Iſlaum; Azzud u Dowla depoſed him from the Khillaufut, placed his ſon Taulaa Billau on the vacant throne, and by his exertions re-eſtabliſhed the true faith. Book II.

AND Azzud u Dowla aboliſhed innovations and things unlawful, ſtopped the current of injuſtice and oppreſſion, and thus ſupported the holy laws of Mahummud.

AND Sooltaun Sunjur, the ſon of Sooltaun Mullik Shaah, and the contemporary and diſciple of Sheikh Ahmud Jaumi and Hukkeem Sunaï, was the promoter of the faith and the laws in the FIFTH CENTURY. For he extirpated the heretics who in thoſe days had weakened the faith of Iſlaum; and paid ſuch pious obedience to the holy doctrines of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him) that in the period of his life he was not guilty of one action prohibited by the ſacred laws.

IN the SIXTH CENTURY the ſupporter of the faith was Ghauzaun Khaun the ſon of Arghoon Khaun, the ſon of Hullaukoo Khaun. For when the holy religion was almoſt annihilated by the conqueſts of the infidels of Toorkiſtaun, Ghauzaun Khaun with one hun-

شد الله تعالي غازان خانرا با صد هزار ترک
بر انگیخت که همکي بیک مرتبه در صحراي لار
بدست شیخ ابراهیم حموي ایمان آورده مسلمان
شدند وزبان بکلمه لا اله الا الله ومحمد رسول الله
کویا ساختند
واثار کفر وبدعت بر انداختند وشریعت را
در بلاد وامصار رواج دادند

ودر سر مایهء هفتم الجایتو سلطان بن
ارغون خان است که ملقب بسلطان محمد خدابنده
شد که در سنه مذکور بعد از برادرش غازان خان
بر تخت سلطنت نشست وچون بمسامع وي رسید
که دین محمدي بمرتبه ضعیف شده که در نماز
بعد از تشهد صلوات بر محمد وبر آل محمد نمیفرستند
خود برخاسته بمسجد جامع سلطانیه حاضر آمد وحکم
باحضار علماي اسلام نمود
از فضایل در باب صلوات فرستادن
بر پیغمبر وآل پیغمبر سوال نمود علما باتفاق کفتند
که بحکم خداي تعالي صلوات بر محمد وبر آل
محمد باید فرستاد

ودربن

dred thousand Toorks (such was the will of the Almighty) were at one time converted to the Mahummudan faith by Sheikh Ibraheem Hummuee in the plain of Laur; and joined in the sacred exclamation, "There is no God but "God, and Mahummud is the Apostle of God."

"And Ghauzaun Khaun rooted out idolatry and heresy; and established the holy laws amongst the surrounding nations.

"The supporter of the faith in the SEVENTH CENTURY was Aljauetoo Sooltaun, the son of Arghoon Khaun, who was also named Sultaun Mahummud Khodau Bundeh. For when he succeeded his brother Ghauzaun Khaun at the above period, and was informed that the duties of our holy religion were neglected to such a degree, that the people, after the profession of their faith, did not include the posterity of Mahummud in their blessings and benedictions on that holy prophet; he himself arose and went forth to the imperial Musjid, and commanded the Theologians to be assembled before him.

"And he demanded of the doctors of the law the cause of this omission; and ordered them to deliver their sentiments concerning the propriety or impropriety of including the sacred posterity of the prophet in their prayers. They replied with one accord, that by the express command of Almighty God the prayers of the faithful were due not only to the holy messenger, but to his descendants also.

ودرين وقت جمعي از علما كفتند كه امام شافعي نمازرا بدون صلوات بر محمد وآل محمد فاسد شمرده وجمعي كفتند كه امام اعظم فرمود كه نمازي كه بصلوات بر محمد وآل محمد مقرون نباشد مكروه است

آنكاه از علما سوال كرد كه چرا بر هريك از آل وي در صلوات ذكر نميكنند ودر صلوات بر خاتم انبيا ذكر ميكنند چون علما در جواب فرو ماندند سلطان كفت

مرا در جواب اين سوال دو دليل بخاطر ميرسند اول آنكه چون دشمنان ويرا ابتر خوانند ايزد تعالي ابتري را بر ايشان انداخت كه نسل ايشان منقطع شده واكر باشد هم ايشانرا كسي نشناسد ونام نبرد وذريت آل پيغمبر آن قدر بهم رسيدند كه تعداد ايشان را جز خداي تعالي ديكري نداند ودر صلوات بمتابعت پيغمبر صلي الله عليه وسلم بر ايشان درود ميفرستند

ديكر آنكه اديان جميع انبيا ورسل وعمل ايشان در معرض نسخ وتبدل بود وامضاي احكام

" SEVERAL of the doctors ſaid, that Immaum Shaufeï had declared, that the ſacred ſervice unattended by the uſual benedictions on Mahummud and his poſterity, were impious. Others acknowledged, that Immaum a Aazum had pronounced the prayers, in which the uſual petitions in behalf of Mahummud and his poſterity were omitted, to be void and of no effect.

" HE then demanded of them, why, when they mentioned the prophet in their prayers, they included not his immediate deſcendants. The doctors of the law were unable to reply, and the Sooltaun proceeded.

" IN proof of the neceſſity of including the ſucceſſors and poſterity of the prophet in our prayers two arguments occur to me. Firſt, that as the wicked excluded the deſcendants and ſucceſſors of our holy lawgiver from the benefit of their benedictions, ſo Almighty God hath excluded them from the benefit of his protection, and hath cut off their poſterity from the face of the earth: for if any of their deſcendants remain, none know them, none regard them: whereas the poſterity of the prophet are increaſed to ſuch a degree, that no one except the Almighty knoweth their numbers, and thoſe in reſpect and obedience to the holy apoſtle (on whom be the bleſſing of God) ſtill offer up their prayers for his immediate deſcendants.

" SECONDLY, the religious rites and inſtitutions of all former prophets and meſſengers have been either altered or annulled; for the rules preſcribed by the religions

احکام دین ایشان علی الدوام لازم نبود بخلاف دین محمدي صلي الله عليه وسلم که تا قیامت تغیر وتبدیل در آن راه نخواهد یافت

پس بر متابعان آنحضرت لازم باشد که در صلوات بمتابعت نام مبارک آنحضرت را ذکر میکنند اولادرا نیز ذکر کنند تا بر امت معلوم شود که حامیان دین محمدي ومفسران وحي آلهي وحافظان شریعت احمدي ایشانند ووراث علوم انبیا ومرسلین اند وعلوم دین وفرایض اسلام از ایشان فرا کیرند ومتابعت وحرمت ایشانرا از لوازم شمارند

چون سلطان این کلمات را بر زبان راند خلایقي که در مسجد جمع آمده بودند بیک مرتبه زبان بصلوات پیغمبر وآل پیغمبر کشارند

آنکاه سلطان کفت که چون اول آل محمد علي وآخر ایشان محمد محمدي موعود است پس مارا است که در ملک محمد بدون اذن اولادش تصرف ننمایم واکر نمایم غاصب باشم

چون

religions which they eftablifhed were not adapted to all times and to all fituations. On the contrary, the religion of Mahummud (the peace of God be upon him) will continue, without change or abolition, to the end of time. Book II.

"IT is the duty therefore of the followers of our holy prophet, who in their prayers refpectfully mention his name, to include his defcendants alfo: that it may be known to the people that they are the fupporters of the religion of Mahummud, the expounders of the divine revelations, the guardians of the holy law, and the heirs of the prophets and apoftles: that the knowledge of the true religon and the divine ordinances of Iflaum may be perpetuated by them, and that obedience and refpect to the defcendants of the prophet may be confidered as an indifputable and important duty.

"WHEN the Sooltaun had concluded, the people who were collected together in the Musjid, inftantly and with one voice, offered up their benedictions in favour of the prophet and his facred defcendants.

"THE Sooltaun proceeded thus. "Since Aali has been acknowledged to be the firft, and Mahummud Mehdi the laft, of the fucceffors and immediate defcendants of the prophet, it cannot be lawful for me to affume authority over the dominions of the holy Mahummud without the affent of his and their pofterity; fince by fo doing I fhould be an ufurper."

 WHEN

چون کلمات سلطان بمسامع خاص
وعام رسید همه علما اذعان نمودند بعد اذعان علما
سلطان امر نمود که چون حقیقت برین منوال است
باید که خطبه تمام اهل بیت بخوانند وسکه بنام
ایشان بر زنند

وانچه علما درین وقت فتوي نوشته اذعان
نموده اند این است که الجایتو سلطان مروج دین
وشریعت اند

در سر مایهء هشتم امیر صاحب قران است
که در امصار واقطار عالم شریعت را رواج داده وسادات
وعلمارا اعزاز واحترام نموده وباذن ذریت آل رسول الله
در ملک او تصرف کرده اند

چون مکتوب میر سید شریف بمن
رسید تنکري تعالي را شکر کفتم وبمحمد وآل
محمد التجا بردم که مرا توفیق تجدید دین
وشریعت حاصل آید

ومکتوب را

"WHEN this declaration of the Sooltaun reached the ears of the people, thoſe of the poſterity of the prophet immediately granted their conſent. Having thus obtained their approbation of his authority, the Sooltaun ordained that agreeably to this regulation, the Khutbeh ſhould be pronounced from the pulpits in the names of each of the ſucceſſors of the prophet, and that their names alſo ſhould be impreſſed on the coins of the empire. Book II.

"THE eccleſiaſtical decree which the theologians promulgated on this occaſion, and to which they ſubſcribed their aſſent, is as follows, "Aljauetoo Sooltaun "is the ſupporter of the faith, and the reſtorer of the "laws."

"IN this the eighth century AMEER SAUHIBA KURRAUN IS THE SUPPORTER OF OUR SACRED RELIGION; ſince he hath revived and encouraged obedience to the holy laws in the different cities and nations of the earth, hath protected and reverenced the poſterity of the prophet of God, and with their aſſent and approbation hath aſſumed dominion over the empire of Mahummud."

WHEN the letter of Meer Siud Shureef came unto me, I offered up thanks to Almighty God, and I invoked the holy Mahummud and the deſcendants of Mahummud, that I might obtain their guidance and ſupport in promoting our holy faith and in eſtabliſhing the laws.

ومکتوب را بجنس نزد پیر خود فرستادم
ایشان بر حاشیه همان مکتوب نوشتند که مروج
الدین والشریعت تیمور صاحب قران ایده الله تعالی
معلوم نماید که این موهبتی است عظمی وتاییدی
است کبری که آن قطب السلطنت را الله تعالی
توفیق تجدید دین ورواج شریعت ارزانی داشته
بیغزا تا بیغزایند

چون مکتوب موشح بخط پیر من بمن
رسید تعظیم واحترام سادات وعلمای اسلام بجا آوردم
ودر رواج شریعت پیشتر از پیشتر سعی کردم وامر
کردم که صورت این مکتوب را در دفتر وقایع من
ثبت نمایند

چون تزوک دین وشریعت کردم شروع
در تزک کارخانه سلطنت خود نمودم وبه توره وتزوک
مراتب سلطنت خود نگاهداشتم تزک نگاهداشت
مراتب سلطنت خودرا برین نهج کردم
اول قواعد سلطنت خودرا بدین اسلام
وشریعت خیر الانام ومحبت آل واصحاب واجب الاحترام
آنحضرت

AND the Letter itſelf I ſent unto my PEER, who wrote thus on the border of that Letter. "Be it "known to Ameer Sauhiba Kurraun, the promoter of "the faith, the eſtabliſher of the laws (with whom be "the protection of Almighty God) that this is a bleſſing "extraordinary, and a mercy inconceivable, which the "omnipotent creator hath vouchſafed to thee, the axis of "empire, in appointing thee the re-eſtabliſher of the "faith, and the ſupporter of the ſacred laws. Encreaſe "thou the number of thy good actions, that thy benevo-"lent creator may encreaſe his mercies unto thee!"

WHEN the epiſtle, bearing the ſubſcription of my PEER, was returned unto me, I reverenced and reſpected the poſterity of the prophet, and the teachers of the doctrine of Iſlaum; and in enforcing the ſacred laws I exerted myſelf more than before. And I commanded that the ſubſtance of the letter ſhould be inſerted in the regiſter of my tranſactions.

WHEN I re-eſtabliſhed the faith and the holy laws, I then began to form my civil regulations; and by law and by order I ſtrengthened my government. And the regulations for giving ſtability to my government, I formed in this manner.

FIRST, I kept firm the foundation of my power by the true religion, and by the laws of the prophet, and by the love of the deſcendants and venerable compa-

آنحضرت استوار داشتم وحفظ مرتبه سلطنت خود بتوره وتزوک چنان کردم که احدي را ياراي نبود که در سلطنت من دخل تواند کرد

دوم سپاه ورعيت را در مرتبه اميد وبيم نکاهداشتم ودوست ودشمن را در مرتبه مروت ومدارا داشته کردار وکفتار ايشانـــرا به تحمل وتغافل در کذرانيدم

وهرکس از دوست ودشمن که النجا بمن آوردند دوستان را در مرتبـــه نکاهداشتم که بر دوستي خود افزودند وبا دشمنان بمرتبهٔ سلوک نمودم که دشمني را بدوستي مبدل ساختند

وهرکسرا بر من حقي بود حق ويـــرا ضايـــع نساختم وهرکسرا بروي شناختم ويـــرا از نظر نينـــداختـــم

وهرکس از اوان طلوع دولت وسلطنت من بمن النجاآ ورده بودند از نيکو کار وبد کردار خـــواه بمن نيکي کرده بودند خواه بدي چون بر تخـــت سلطنت نشستم ايشانرا شرمنده احسان خـــود ساخـــتـــم وبدبهاي که بمن کرده بودند نا کرده انکاشتم وقلم عفو بر جريده اعمال ايشان کشيدم

سيوم

companions of that holy legiſlator; and by regulations and by order I ſo ſecured my regal authority, that no one had the power to interpoſe in my government. Book II.

SECONDLY, I kept my ſoldiers and my ſubjects ſuſpended between hope and fear; and conducting myſelf towards my friends and my enemies with gentleneſs and with humanity, I either over-looked or patiently bore with their words and their actions.

WHOEVER, whether friends or enemies, fled unto me for protection; if they were friends, I treated them in ſuch ſort as tended to increaſe their friendſhip; and if they were enemies, I ſo conducted myſelf towards them that their enmity was ſpeedily converted into affection.

WHOEVER had a demand upon me, I attempted not to diminiſh the value thereof: and thoſe whom I perſonally knew, I threw not forth from my preſence.

AND whoever, from the firſt ſhining forth of my fortune and power, had ſought my protection, whether worthy or unworthy, whether their conduct towards me had been good or evil, when I aſcended the throne of empire, I cauſed them to bluſh by my bounty and kindneſs; and I conſidered as undone the evil which they had done unto me, and I drew the pen of oblivion over the regiſter of their actions.

THIRDLY,

سیوم در مقـام انتقام هیچکس نشدم
وانتقام نکشیدم وبد کنندکان خودرا به پروردکار سپردم
ارباب شجاعت ومردان کارکردهء ازموده
نکاهداشتم ومـردم اصیل وسادات وعلمای وفضلا را بخود راه دادم واشرار وبد نفسان ولیمـان را از مجلس خود رانـدم

چـهـارم بکشاده رویء ورحـم وشفقت
خـلـق خـدارا بخود رام کردم وبعدالت کرویدم واز ظلم وجور دوری کزیدم

درین وقت پیر من بمن نوشت که ابو
المنصور تیمور ایده الله تعالی را معلوم باد که کارخانه سلطنت نمونـهء از کارخـانه آلهی است که در آن عمله وفعله ونایبان وحجاب اند وهریک در مرتبه خود بکار خود مشغول اند واز مرتبه خود تجاوز نمیکنند ومنتظر امر آلهی می باشند

پس ترا احتیاط باید که وزرا ولشکریان
وعـمـالان وکارکنان وسپهسالاران هریـک در حد مرتبه

THIRDLY, I never gave way to the thirst of revenge, nor did I ever satiate my resentment on any one. Those who had injured me, I delivered over to the justice of the Almighty. Book II.

I retained in my service warriors of approved valour, and soldiers of tried experience. And I admitted to my society men of exalted lineage, and the posterity of the prophet, and theologians, and doctors learned in the law. And the seditious, and the wicked, and the inglorious I drove far from my presence.

FOURTHLY, I drew to me the obedience of the people of God by complacency, and by mercy, and by indulgence. And I ever adhered to equity and justice; and I retired far from cruelty and oppression.

AT this time my PEER wrote unto me, saying, "Be it known to Abu'l Munsour Timour (on whom "be the blessing of Almighty God) that the different "offices in an earthly empire are symbols of those in the "empire of thy creator; in which there are labourers, "and agents, and deputies, and chamberlains; and they "are all busied and occupied in their own proper departments, and they seek not to over-leap the bounds allotted "them; and they wait in perpetual obedience to the "will of the Lord.

"THEREFORE, thou must be watchful, "that thy vizzeers, and thy soldiers, and thy labourers, "and thy servants, and thy officers, being each of them

مرتبه خود بوده منتظر حکم تو باشند وهر طایفه وهر قوم را در مرتبهٔ ایشان بدار تا مرتبه سلطنت تو بنظام وانتظام در آید

واگر حفظ مراتب هرچیز وهرکس نکنی بسي خلل وفساد در امور سلطنت راه یابد پس تراست که پایه قدر ومنزله هرچیز وهرکس نگاهداري

ومرتبه آل محمدرا از جمیع مراتب برتر داري وتعظیم واحترام ایشان بجا آري وافراط را در محبت ایشان اسراف نداني که هرچه از براي خدا باشد در آن اسراف نباشد به دوازده طایفه سلطنت خودرا آراسته وپراسته بدار والسلام

چون این نامه پیر من بمن رسید هرچه فرموده بودند بجا آوردم ومراتب سلطنت خودرا نسق وانتظام دادم ومرتبه سلطنت خودرا به توره وتزوک زیب وزینت بخشیدم وبدوازده طایفه سلطنت خودرا

استوار

" reſtricted to their proper ſtations, attend with due ſub-" miſſion thy commands. And reſtrain thou every " people and every tribe under thy dominion within their " proper limits: that thy empire may be eſtabliſhed on " the baſis of regularity and good order.

" But if thou regardeſt not the due ar-" rangement of thy concerns, and attendeſt not to the " juſt ſubordination of thy people, corruption, and vio-" lence, and diſorders ſhall find their way into every de-" partment of thy government. Be it therefore thy care " to watch over and confine thy people, and thy concerns, " within the limits of ſubordination and good order.

" And thou ſhall exalt the ſacred poſterity " of the prophet above all other ranks of thy people; " and thou ſhalt revere and honour them, and thou ſhalt " not conſider the greateſt inſtances of liberality, which " thy love for them ſhall call forth, as the effects of pro-" fuſion. We cannot be profuſe in our offerings to Al-" mighty God. Regulate and govern thou thy empire by " the Twelve select Classes; and farewell."

When I received this letter from my Peer, I acted in obedience to all which he had commanded, and I gave order and connexion to the different departments of empire; and I ornamented and beautified my power by regulations and laws: and I made my authority durable by the twelve classes.

استوار ساختم تزوک مرتبه
سلطنت وقواعد سلطنت خودرا بدوازده طایفه مربوط
ومضبوط ساختم واین دوازده طایفه را بمنزله دوازده برج
فلک ودوازده ماه کارخانه سلطنت خود قرار دادم

اول طایفه سادات وعلما مشایخ وفضلا را
بخود راه دادم وهمیشه ببارگاه من آمد شد
می نمودند ومجلس مرا بزیب وزینت نگاه می داشتند
ومسایل علوم دینی وحکمی وعقلی مذکور
می ساختند ومسایل حلال وحرام از ایشان استغسار
مینمودم

طایفه دویم عقلا واصحاب کنکاش
وارباب حزم واحتیاط ومردم کهنه سال پیش بین را
در مجلس خاص خودرا راه دادم وبایشان صحبت
داشتم ونفع یافته تجربها حاصل میکردم

طایفه سیوم ارباب دعارا گرامی داشتم
ودر خلوت از ایشان دریوزه دعوات کرده مدعیان
خودرا استدعا مینمودم ودر مجالس ومحافل وبزم ورزم
از

REGULATIONS. By the TWELVE CLASSES I rendered ſtrong and permanent the baſis and ſuperſtructure of my government; and I conſidered thoſe Claſſes as the twelve months, and as the twelve ſigns of the zodiac, predominating over the concerns of my empire. Book II.

THE FIRST CLASS. I granted admiſſion to the deſcendants of the prophet, and to theologians, and to doctors learned in the laws, and to holy men. And they reſorted at all times to my palace, and they beautified and adorned my imperial aſſembly by their preſence. And they converſed on ſacred knowledge, and on government, and on wiſdom: and to them I propoſed queſtions concerning thoſe things which were lawful, and thoſe which were forbidden.

THE SECOND CLASS. Perſons of wiſdom, and deliberation, and vigilance, and circumſpection, and aged men endowed with knowledge and foreſight, I admitted to my private councils: and I aſſociated with them, and I reaped benefit, and acquired experience from their converſation.

THE THIRD CLASS. I revered devout and pious men; and I implored their prayers in the hour of retirement: and I ſupplicated their bleſſings on my actions. And in war, and in peace, and in my councils, and in

از ایشان برکتي تمام مي یافتم ودر روز جنک از ایشان ظفرها میدیدم

چنانچه در وقتي که لشکر من بواسطه کثرت لشکر توقتمش خان در جنک مضطرب شدند میر ضیا الدین سبزواري که صاحب الدعوت بود سر خودرا برهنه ساخت ودست بدعا بر آورد وهنوز دعاي وي باتمام نرسیده بود که اثر دعاي وي ظاهر کردید

وچنانچه در وقتي که یکي از اهل حرم سراي مرا بیماري صعب عارض شده بود دوازده سید دعاکوي جمع آمده هریک یک سال از عمر خود بوي بخشیدند ووي صحت یافت ودوازده سال زندکاني کرد

چهارم طایفه امرا وسرهنکان وسپهسالاران را در مجلس خود اورن دادم وبمراتب علیا سر بلند داشتم وبا ایشان صحبت داشته سخنان مي پریدم

وارباب شجاعت را که بارها شمشیرها زده بودند دوست داشتم واز رزم ودر آمدن وبر آمدن در معارک ومهالک وشکستن صفها وحرب وضرب وچپقولشها

in my deliberations, I reaped the greateſt advantage from their mediation. And by them I obtained victories in the day of battle.

Thus it came to paſs, when in an engagement with Touktummiſh Khaun my forces were thrown into confuſion by the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, Meer Zeau u deen (of Subzvaur) who was noted for the efficacy of his prayers, bared his head, and ſtretched forth his arms in ſupplication: his prayer was not yet concluded, when the effects of his mediation became apparent.

And ſo alſo it came to paſs, at a time when one of the inhabitants of my Hoorrum Surrai † was afflicted with a deadly diſtemper. Twelve holy Siuds, celebrated for their piety, aſſembled together; and each of them devoted a year of his own exiſtence to her preſervation: and ſhe was reſtored to health, and enjoyed the full meaſure of their donation.

The fourth class. The Ameers, and the chiefs, and the commanders of my forces, I admitted to my councils; and I raiſed them to exalted dignities; and I aſſociated, and converſed familiarly, with them.

And I loved thoſe intrepid warriors who had given repeated proofs of their courage and abilities. And I propoſed queſtions to them concerning the art of war, and the various modes of advancing in the field of battle, and of retreat in ſituations of peril, and the me-

† One of his wives.

thods

وچپغولشها از ایشان سوالات مینهودم ودر مرتبه سپاهکري ایشانرا معتهد میداشتم وکنکاش از ایشان میطلبیدم

پنجم طایغه سپاه ورعیت را بیک چشم دیدم واشجعان سپاه را از بهادران ودلاوران به اوتاغه* کمر وترکش خاصه سر بلند ساختم

وکلانتران وکدخدایان هر ملک وممکت را کرامي داشتم وبایشان جزا دادم ونغع کرفتم

وسپاه را حاضر نکاهداشتم وعلوفه ایشان را پیش از طلب میدادم چنانچه در یساق روم هغت ساله علوفه از کذشته وآینده به سپاه دادم وسپاه ورعیت را بنوعي ضبط نهودم که از هیچ یک بر دیکري تعدي وعنغي واقع نمي شد

وسایر سپاه را علي مراتب درجاتهم در مراتب خود نکاه میداشتم که از حد خود قدم بیرون نمي کذاشتند ومرتبه ایشان را نه بلند بلند ساختم ونه پست پست واز هر کدام که خدمتي بوقوع مي آمد بجلدو وانعام امتیاز میدادم

وشجاعت

thods of charging and breaking the lines of the enemy, and of ſkirmiſhing, and all the other operations of war: and I placed confidence in them; and I conſulted their opinions in proportion to their ſkill and experience. Book II.

THE FIFTH CLASS. The ſoldier and the ſubject I regarded with the ſame eye. And the brave and the reſolute from amongſt my warriors I diſtinguiſhed by gifts and by honours.

AND I treated with dignity and attention the rulers and the chiefs of every province and kingdom; and I conferred rewards upon them, and I reaped benefit from their ſervices.

AND I kept my troops in a ſtate of readineſs, and I advanced to them their wages even before it was due. Thus in my expedition againſt Room, I gave unto my ſoldiers ſeven years wages; part thereof due, and the remainder in advance. And ſuch was the diſcipline which I eſtabliſhed amongſt my troops and my ſubjects, that the one was never injured or oppreſſed by the other.

AND my ſoldiers of every rank I confined in ſuch ſort to their ſeveral ſtations, that they could not ſte beyond the limits preſcribed to them: and I neither exalted them above, nor depreſſed them below the reſt of my ſubjects. And thoſe of them who ſignalized themſelves by eminent ſervices, I rewarded with honours and donations.

وشجاعت وعقل هر كس از ساير
سپاه را كه بميزان عيار مي سنجيدم تربيت كرده
بمرتبه امارت ميرسانيدم وفراخور كار ايشان بر مراتب
ايشان مي افزودم

طايفه ششم از خردمندان معتمد
راسخ الاعتقاد كه سزاواران بودند كه رازهاي
امور سلطنت بايشان سپارم ومشورهء امور سلطنت
بايشان كنم طايفه را صاحب اسرار نهاني خود ساختم
وامور مخفي واسرار نهاني خودرا بديشان سپردم

هفتم طايفه از وزرا وكتاب ومنشيان
ديوان سلطنت خودرا آراسته ساختم وايشان را آينه
دار ممالك خود ساختم كه وقايع ملك ومملكت
وسپاه ورعيت را بمن نمودار ميساختند
وخزانه ورعيت وسپاه مرا معمور نكاه
ميداشتند ورخنه ملك را بتدبير لايق بر ميبستند،
ومداخل ومخارج كارخانه سلطنه مرا مضبوط نكاه
ميداشتند ودر توفير ومعموري ملك ساعي مي
بودند.

هشتم

AND thofe of my officers whofe refolution and abilities I had weighed and proved in the balance of trial, I received into my efpecial favour, and I promoted them to the rank of commanders: and, in proportion to their conduct, I advanced them to fuperior ftations.

THE SIXTH CLASS. From amongft the wife and the prudent, who merited truft and confidence, who were worthy of being confulted on the affairs of government, and to whofe care I might fubmit the fecret concerns of my empire, I felected a certain number, whom I conftituted the repofitories of my fecrets. And my weighty and hidden tranfactions, and my fecret thoughts and intentions I delivered over to them.

THE SEVENTH CLASS. By the vizzeers, and the fecretaries, and the fcribes I gave order and regularity to my public councils. I made them the keepers of the mirrour of my government; in which they fhewed unto me the affairs of my dominions and my empire, and the concerns of my armies and my people.

AND they kept rich my treafury; and they fecured plenty and profperity to my foldiers and to my fubjects. And by proper and fkilful meafures they repaired the diforders incident to empire; and they kept in order the revenues and the expences of government; and they exerted themfelves in promoting plenty and population throughout my dominions.

هشتم طبقه حکما واطبا ومنجمان
ومهندسان که مصالح کارخانه سلطنت اند بر خود
جمع آوردم
وباتفاق حکما واطبا معالجه بیماران
مي کردم واز طبقه منجمان سعادت ونحوست ایام
کواکب وسیر ایشان ودور افلاک را مشخص مینمودم
وباتفاق مهندسان عمارات عالي بنا نهاده تعمیر کردم
وطرح باغات انداختم

نهم طایفه محدثین وارباب اخبار
وقصص را بخود راه دادم واز قصص انبیا واولیا واخبار
سلاطین روزکار وکیفیت رسیدن ایشان بمرتبه
سلطنت وزوال دولت ایشان ازین طایفه مي
شنیدم
واز قصص واخبار ایشان وکفتار وکردار
هریک تجربها برمیداشتم واخبار وآثار عالم از ایشان
مي شنیدم وبر احوال عالم اطلاع حاصل مي
نمودم

دهم طایفه بمشایخ وصوفیان وعارفان
خدا پیوستم وبایشان صحبتها داشتم وفواید
آخروی

THE EIGHTH CLASS. Men learned in medicine, and thoſe ſkilled in the art of healing, and aſtrologers, and geometricians, who are eſſential to the dignity of empire, I drew around me.

AND, by the aid of phyſicians and chirurgeons, I gave health to the ſick. And, with the aſſiſtance of aſtrologers, I aſcertained the benign or malignant aſpect of the ſtars; their motions, and the revolutions of the heavens. And, with the aid of geometricians and architects, I laid out gardens, and planned and conſtructed magnificent buildings.

THE NINTH CLASS. Hiſtorians, and ſuch as were poſſeſſed of information and intelligence, I admitted to my preſence. And from theſe men I heard the lives of the prophets and the patriarchs; and the hiſtories of ancient princes, and the events by which they arrived at the dignity of empire, and the cauſes of the declenſion of their fortunes.

AND from the narratives and the hiſtories of thoſe princes, and from the manners and the conduct of each of them, I acquired experience and knowledge. And from thoſe men I heard the deſcriptions and the traditions of the various regions of the globe, and acquired knowledge of the ſituations of the kingdoms of the earth.

THE TENTH CLASS. I united myſelf with holy and pious men, with thoſe to whom the Almighty

آخروي اخذ نمودم وسخنان خداي مي شنيدم
وكرامات وخوارق عادات از ايشان مشاهده مي
نمودم ومرا از صحبت ايشان سرور وحضور تمام حاصل
مي آمد

يازدهم طايفه ارباب صناعت را از هر
طايفه وهر صنفي بدولتخانه خود آوردم ودر اردوي
خود ايشانرا اورن دادم كه در سفر وحضر ما يحتاج
سپاه را حاضر داشته باشند

طايفه دوازدهم مترددين ومسافران هر
ملك وديار را تسلي دادم كه اخبار ممالك را بمن
برسانند
وتجارانرا وقافله سالاران را تعيين نمودم
كه بهر ملك وهر ديار رفته از ختا وختن وچين

† The firſt, the third, and this (the tenth) claſs, appear on a ſuperficial view to be the ſame people, i.e. men devoted to the duties of religion; but, on a nearer examination, it is evident that they were claſſes diſtinct from each other. The firſt were undoubtedly the heads of the Mahummudan church, the poſterity of Aali, the dignified prelates, and the eminent doctors of the law. The third claſs appears to be a ſelection (from the firſt) of ſuch eminent men as had rendered themſelves celebrated by their ſuperior piety and religious attention to the laws. And by this (the tenth) claſs Timour evidently means ſuch religious men, as had retired from the world
and

وماچين

mighty had given wiſdom ;† and I aſſociated with them ; and I heard from them the word of God ; and I acquired knowledge of the bleſſings of a future ſtate. And I ſaw them perform miracles and wonderful things ; and I reaped delight and ſatisfaction from their converſation.

THE ELEVENTH CLASS. I brought into my palace artificers of every ſort, and of every denomination ; and I admitted them into my camp ; that both at home and abroad they might ſupply, and keep in readineſs, the neceſſaries requiſite to my ſoldiers.

THE TWELFTH CLASS. To travellers, and to voyagers, of every country I gave encouragement ; that they might communicate unto me the intelligence and tranſactions of the ſurrounding nations.

AND I appointed merchants and chiefs of Kauruvvauns to travel to every kingdom, and to every country ; that they might bring unto me all ſorts of valuable merchandize and rare curioſities, from Khuttau, and from Khut-

and devoted themſelves to ſolitude, to the ſtudy of the Koraun, and the regular performance of the religious duties preſcribed by their law-giver. Theſe hermits, or monks, like their brethren of the weſtern church, acquired in all times a large ſhare of popular reſpect and veneration by their auſterities and apparent ſanctity. They too performed their miracles and wonderful things ; and, if the eaſtern hiſtorians may be credited, with as much dexterity and addreſs as any of thoſe holy men and women on whom the honour of ſaintſhip has been conferred by the infallibility of the Roman Pontiffs.

tun,

وماچین وهندوستان وبلاد عرب ومصر وشام وروم
وجزایر فرنک متاع نفیس وتحفهای لایق بجهت من
بیاورند واحوال واوضاع واطوار متوطنان وسکنه آن
دیار را بعرض من رسانند وسلوک حکام هر مملکتی را
با رعایا بخاطر آورده نمودار سازند تزوک طوایفی که
از ترک وتاچیک وعرب وعجم بدرگاه من التجا
آوردند چنین کردم

که اول امر نمودم که هر طایفه وهر
طبقه را که سادات وعلما باشند اعزاز واحترام نمایند
وهر مطلبی که ایشانرا بوده باشد
با نجاح مقرون گردانند ورعایت احوال ایشان بواجبی
نمایند

واگر طایفه سپاه بوده باشد ایشانرا اورن
داده فراخور احوال پرداخت احوال ایشان نمایند
واگر از ارباب معرفت وصناعت باشد
در کارخانجات سلطنت ایشانرا بکار دارند وسایر

† i. e. Whether Tatars or Persians, Arabs or Syrians. Such are the confined meanings of the words *Taucheek* and *Ajjum*; but they frequently convey a more extensive idea: for the Tatars use the word *Taucheek*, and the

الناس

tun, and from Cheen, and from Maucheen, and from Hindoſtaun, and from the cities of Arabia, and from Miſſur, and from Shaum, and from Room, and from the iſlands of the Chriſtians; that they might give me information of the ſituation, and of the manners, and of the cuſtoms of the natives and the inhabitants of thoſe regions; and that they might obſerve, and communicate unto me, the conduct of the princes of every kingdom, and of every country, towards their ſubjects. Book II.

RELATIVE to the various tribes, whether Toork or Taucheek, Arrub or Ajjum,† who ſought ſhelter under my government; theſe were the REGULATIONS which I eſtabliſhed.

FIRST, I commanded that thoſe who were of the poſterity of the prophet, or theologians learned in the laws, ſhould be received with reverence and reſpect; and that all their wiſhes and deſires ſhould be fulfilled; and that they ſhould be ſupported in affluence and honour.

AND thoſe who were ſoldiers, I ordered to be incorporated with my troops, and entertained according to their rank and their circumſtances.

AND thoſe who were ſkilled in mechanic arts, I directed to be employed in my ſervice. And the

the Arabs the word *Ajjum* or *Ajjumi* to diſtinguiſh any perſon, or people, of a different nation from their own. Thus *Taucheek* and *Ajjum* anſwer to our word *foreigner*.

الناس را از فقرا ومساكين كه استطاعت داشته باشد فراخور احوال وطبقه مرسوم قرار دهند

وحكم كردم كه هر تاجري كه راس المال را از دست داده باشد بوي آن قدر زر دهند كه باز راس المال خويش سازد وهر مزارعي ورعيتي كه از رعيتي وزراعت بي استطاعت شده باشد مصالح زراعت وعمارت بوي مقرر دارند وهر طايفه وهر صنفي كه شيوه سپاهگري اختيار كند وي را سپاهي سازند

وسپاهي زاده شجاع اصل از هر طايفه كه باشد اورا اورن دهند وفراخور كار تربيت نمايند

وامر نمودم كه هركس از هر طايفه كه بمجلس من در آيد ويرا از خوان نعمت سلطنت من محروم نگردانند

وهركس را بنظر من در آورند ونظر من بروي افتاد تشريفات فراخور احوال بوي ارزاني دارند وهركس از گنه گاران وبي گناه كه بديوان عدالت من در آيد بروي به بخشايند ودر گناه دوم وسيوم فراخور گناه سزا دهند

تزوك

body of the people, the indigent and the poor, who had capacity and abilities, I commanded to be accommodated agreeably to their ſituations. Book II.

I ordered that the merchant who had loſt his property, ſhould have ſuch ſums of money given unto him as were ſufficient to reſtore his capital to its original ſtate; and that every huſbandman and every peaſant, who was not poſſeſſed of the implements of huſbandry and cultivation, ſhould be ſupplied therewith; and that thoſe, of whatever claſs or rank, who choſe the occupation of arms, ſhould be received into military ſervice.

AND the genuine deſcendant of a ſoldier, reſolute and brave, of whatever tribe or hord he might be, I ordered to be enrolled in the number of my forces, and to be promoted in proportion to his conduct and behaviour.

AND I ordained that no perſon, whatever his rank, who entered my palace, ſhould be excluded from the table of my imperial bounty.

AND whoever was brought into my preſence, and attracted my notice, I commanded that honours ſhould be conferred upon him in proportion to his rank; and that every criminal who came for the firſt time before my tribunal, ſhould be pardoned; but that for the ſecond, and the third, crime he ſhould meet with puniſhment adequate to his offences.

 THUS

تـــزوک استقلال سلطنت خـــود چنین کـــردم

که دوازده چیز را شعار خود ساختم تا باستقلال تمام بر تخت سلطنت نشستم وبه تجربه من رسیده است که با هر پادشاهي که این دوازده امر نباشد از سلطنه بهره نداشته باشد

اول باید که کردار وکفتارش از خود بـاشـد یعني سپاه ورعیت بدانند که انچه بادشاه میکوید ومیکند خود میکوید ومیکند ودیکري را در آن دخلي نیست

پس بایـــد که پادشاه بکفتار وکردار دیکران بنوعي که شـریک مرتبه سلطنت کردند عمل نکند اکرچه سخن خوب از همه کس باید شنید اما نـــه بمرتبه که از کفتار وکردار در امـــور سلطنت شریک وغالب کردند

دویـم سلطانرا باید که در همه چیـــز عدالت بکار برد ووزراي عادل با انصاف در خدمت خود نکاهدارد واکر پادشاه ظلم کـــنـــد وزیـــر عادل

THUS I eſtabliſhed rules for the ſecurity of my government. Book II.

I regulated my conduct by TWELVE CERTAIN MAXIMS: and by them I ſeated myſelf firmly on the throne of empire. And from experience it is known unto me, that every prince who adhereth not to theſe Twelve Maxims, ſhall reap little advantage from his dominion and regal ſtation.

FIRST. It is neceſſary that his words and his actions be his own. That is to ſay, that his ſoldiers and his ſubjects may know that what the king ſayeth and doeth, he ſayeth and doeth from himſelf; and that no other perſon hath influence therein.

THEREFORE it is requiſite that a king be not ſo guided by the conduct and the counſels of others, as to make them his aſſociates in his regal authority. For although he be obliged to hear good advice from all, yet he muſt not to that degree attend unto them, as to enable them by their meaſures and their counſels to become his equals, and in the end his ſuperiors, in the concerns of his government.

SECONDLY. It is neceſſary to a king that he adhere to juſtice in all his actions, and that he receive into his ſervice miniſters who are juſt and virtuous. For if a king be guilty of oppreſſion, an upright miniſter may counteract the evil thereof. But if the miniſter be unjuſt

عادل تدارک آن نماید اما اگر وزیر ظالم باشد زود باشد که خانه سلطنت خراب کرد

چنانچه امیر حسین وزیری داشت ظالم که بحق وناحق جریمها از سپاه ورعیت میگرفت تا در اندک زمانی از ظلم آن وزیری بی انصاف خانه سلطنت امیر حسین خراب شد

سیوم در اوامر ونهی استقلال بکار برد وبذات خود حکم کند که دیگری را زهره آن نباشد که در آن حکم دخل کند وتغیر دهد

چهارم بر عزیمت خود راسخ باشد یعنی بر هر کاری که عزیمت بندد فسخ آن نکند وتا باتمام نرساند دست از آن کار باز ندارد

پنجم جریان حکم است چه حکمی که بکند باید که آن حکم جاری کردد وکه کسی را یارای آن نباشد که رد آن حکم تواند کرد اگرچه در آن حکم ضررها متصور باشد

چنانچه

unjuſt and cruel, it ſhall ſpeedily come to paſs, that the edifice of his maſters's power and dominion ſhall be levelled with the earth. Book II.

THUS Ameer Hooſſein had a cruel and a wicked miniſter, who levied oppreſſive fines on the ſoldiers and on the ſubjects; until in a ſhort time by the oppreſſions of that unjuſt and cruel miniſter, the fabric of the dominion of Ameer Hooſſein was laid in the duſt.

THIRDLY. In his injuctions and in his prohibitions he muſt act with reſolution and with firmneſs. And he himſelf muſt iſſue his royal commands, that no one may have the temerity, or the power, to interpoſe, to alter, or to corrupt them.

FOURTHLY. He muſt be firm and conſtant in all his determinations. That is to ſay, on whatever plan or enterpriſe he ſhall reſolve, he muſt not alter his reſolution, nor withdraw his hand from that enterpriſe, until he hath brought it to a fortunate concluſion.

THE FIFTH is the ſpirit of command. For whatever command he giveth, it is neceſſary that that command ſhould be obeyed; that no one ſhould have the power to act in oppoſition thereto, even though inconvenience or miſchief ſhould be the expected conſequence of that command.

So

چنانچه بمسامع من رسید که سلطان
محمود غزنوي حکم کرد که سنکي بر سر میدان
غزنین بینداختند واز آن سنک اسپان مردم رم
میکردند هرچند بعرض رسانیدند که آن سنک را از
سر راه بر دارند کفت که حکمي کرده ام از حکم
خود بر نمیکردم وخلاف حکم نمیکنم

ششم امور سلطنت خودرا من حیث
الاستقلال بدیکري نسپارد وعنان اختیار خود بدست
دیکري ندهد که دنیا غدار است وعاشق بسیار دارد
وزود باشد که آن صاحب اختیار میل بر سلطنت
نموده متصرف مرتبه سلطنت کردد
چنانچه وزراي سلطان محمود با وي
کردند وویرا از مرتبه سلطنت خلع نموده ومملکت
وسلطنت ویرا متصرف کشتند پس باید که امور
سلطنت متابع کرداند بچند کس معتبر ومعتمد
که تا هر یکي بکار خود مشغول بوده طمع در مرتبه
سلطنت ننمایند

هفتم

So it hath been related unto me, that Sooltaun Muhmood, emperor of Ghizni, ordered on a certain occaſion that a ſtone ſhould be caſt down at the entrance of the plain of Ghiznein: and the horſes of the people ſtarted and ſprang back from that ſtone. And although his ſervants ſolicited his permiſſion that they might remove the ſtone from the entrance of the road, he refuſed his aſſent: he anſwered unto them, 'I have iſſued 'forth the order; and I will not turn back from, or con-'tradict, my own commands.' Book II.

SIXTHLY; (for from hence proceedeth ſecurity and power) he muſt not truſt the concerns of his government to others, nor deliver over the reins of his authority into the hands of a ſervant: for the world is full of treachery, and hath many lovers; and it may ſoon come to paſs that the powerful ſervant ſhall aſpire to regal dignity, and ſeat himſelf on the throne of his maſter.

SUCH was the conduct of the miniſters of Sooltaun Muhmood towards their lord. They expelled him from the imperial throne, and they divided his dominions and his power amongſt themſelves. It is neceſſary therefore that the powers and important affairs of government be divided; and that they be entruſted to the care of divers perſons of approved fidelity, and of known loyalty; ſo that being employed in their own proper departments, no one of them may aſpire to the ſupreme authority.

هفتم در امور سلطنت از هر کس سخن
بشنود انچه پسندیده باشد در خزانه خاطر خود
نگاهدارد ودر وقتش بکار برد

هشتم در امور سلطنت وسپاه ورعیت
بقول وفعل هر کس عمل نکند واز وزرا وامرا که در
حق شخصي سخني گويند بشنود خواه نيک وخواه
بد ليکن در عمل نمودن بآن تامل نمايد تا آنکه
حقيقت حال بروي ظاهر گردد

نهم بايد که سطوت سلطنتش در دلها
سپاه ورعيت بنوعي جاي گيرد که هيچکس را ياراي
تخلف از امر وحکم وي نباشد واز اطاعت ومتابعتش
عصيان نورزند

دهم انچه کند بذات خود کند وانچه
گويد بر سخن خود راسخ باشد چه پادشاه را جز اعزاز
حکم چيزي ديگر بهره نباشد که خزانه ولشکر ورعيت
وسلاطين همين حکم ايشان باشد

بازدهم

SEVENTHLY. On the affairs of his government he muſt liſten to the opinions of his ſervants: thoſe which are good, he muſt lay up in the treaſury of his heart, and call them forth into action at their proper ſeaſons.

EIGHTHLY. In the concerns of dominion, and in thoſe things which relate to his ſubjects and his ſoldiers, he muſt not act by the aſſiſtance and the advice of others. If his Vizzeers or his Ameers ſpeak unto him concerning any one, whether that which they ſay be good, or whether it be evil, let him hearken to them; but in forming his determination thereon let him be cautious and circumſpect, until the truth be apparent unto him.

NINTHLY. It is neceſſary that the majeſty of his dominion be ſo impreſſed on the hearts of his ſoldiers and his ſubjects, that none ſhall dare to diſobey his orders and commands, or to revolt from their duty and obedience to his royal authority.

TENTHLY. What the king doeth he muſt do from himſelf; and he muſt adhere to that which he ſayeth: for unto a prince there is nothing ſo valuable as a juſt veneration for his royal word. This word is unto him a family of princes, and a rich treaſury; it maketh to him numerous ſubjects and powerful armies.

یازدهم در امور سلطنت واجرای
احکام خودرا بی شریک راند وکسی را شریک
سلطنت نکرداند

دوازدهم از حال اهل مجلس خود
آگاه باشد وهوشیاری بکار برد که اکثر خواهش
عیوب باشند وخبر به بیرون رسانند واز گفتار وکردار
پادشاه خبر به امرا ووزرا بگویند چنانچه این قضیه
بر من بوقوع آمده چون جمعی از اهل مجلس
خاص من جاسوسان امرا ووزرا من بودند

تزوک نگاهداشت سپاه

امر نمودم که چون ده نفر سپاهی
اصیل کارکرده جمع آیند یکی از ایشان که بجوهر
شجاعت ومردی مخصوص باشد بصلاح ورضاء آن
نه نفر دیگر ویرا بر ایشان امیر گردانند ویرا اون
باشی نام نهند
وچون ده اون باشی جمع شوند یکی
از ایشان که بکارگذاری وکاردانی آراسته باشد بر
ایشان امیر گردانند وویرا یوز باشی نام کردانند

وچون

ELEVENTHLY. In the affairs of his government, and in the iſſuing forth his orders and commands, he muſt conſider himſelf as ſingle and alone; nor muſt he aſſociate any one with him in the adminiſtration of his authority.

TWELFTHLY. He muſt be acquainted with the manners and the diſpoſitions of his favourites and his confidents. And he muſt act with caution and circumſpection: for many are lovers of ſlander and of calumny, who may carry reports abroad, and communicate to the Vizzeers and the Ameers the words and the actions of their prince. Thus, it once happened unto me at a time when ſeveral of thoſe whom I admitted to my private council proved to be the ſpies of my Vizzeers and my Omraus.

REGULATIONS FOR THE FORMING OF MY ARMY.

I ordained, when ten ſelect ſoldiers, men of proof, were collected together, that one of them, who was diſtinguiſhed for valour and for bravery, ſhould, with the advice and the conſent of the remaining nine, be appointed commander over them; and that he ſhould be called Ounbauſhee:

AND when ten Ounbauſhee were aſſembled together, that one of them who was qualified by ſervice and abilities, ſhould be appointed their leader; and that he ſhould be ſtiled Euzbauſhee:

AND

وچون ده یوز باشي جمع آیند امیر
زاده عاقل اصیل بهادر مردانه را بریشان امیر گردانند
وویرا منک باشي وامیر هزاره خطاب دهند

واون باشیان را مختار ساختم که اکر
یکي از تابینان ایشان فوت شود یا فرار نماید دیکري را
بجاي وي مقرر سازند وهمچنین یوز باشي اون
باشي را ومنک باشي یوز باشي را تعین نمایند
وکیفیت فوت یا فرار او ونصب کردن دیکري را
بعرض رسانند

وهمچنین امر کردم که در چار پلچار*
وامور سلطنت حکم منک باشي بر یوز باشي وحکم یوز
باشي بر اون باشي وحکم اون باشي بر تابینان
جاري باشد واکر خلاف نمایند بسزا رسانند واکر
در چار پلچار* کوتاهي نمایند اخراج نموده عوض
نکاه دارند

تزوک قرار علوفه سپاه

امر کردم که علوفه سپاه از امرا ومنک
باشیان

AND that, when ten Euzbaushee were collected together, an officer of exalted lineage, the son of a chief, of approved knowledge, and valour, and intrepidity, should be appointed commander over them; and that he should be called Mingbaushee, and Leader of a thousand.

AND I gave power to the Ounbaushees, that if any soldier under their command should die, or should desert, that they should appoint another soldier in his place. In the like manner I ordained, that the Euzbaushee should appoint the Ounbaushee, and the Mingbaushee the Euzbaushee; and that they should lay before me an account of the person who had died or deserted, and of the appointment of another in his stead.

AND I commanded in the like manner, that, on military service and in every concern that related to government, the authority of the Mingbaushee should be established over the Euzbaushee; and the authority of the Euzbaushee over the Ounbaushee; and the authority of the Ounbaushee over the common soldier; that they should chastise those that were disobedient; and that those who in the day of battle were deficient in performing their duty, should be expelled; and that others should be appointed in their place.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PAY OF MY FORCES.

I commanded that the subsistence of my troops, of the Omraus, and the Mingbaushees, and the Euzbaushees,

باشيان ويوز باشيان واون باشيان وساير سپاه برين
نهج مقرر گردانند

که علوفه ساير سپاه بشرط اصالت
وسپاهگري بهاي اسپ وي مقرر باشد وعلوفه
بهادرانيکه از بهاء دو اسپ تا چهار اسپ معين باشد

وعلوفه اون باشي ده برابر علوفه تابينان
وي باشد وعلوفه يوز باشي دو برابر علوفه اون باشي
وعلوفه منک باشي سه برابر علوفه يوز باشي
معين باشد

وحکم کردم که هريک از سپاه که
در چار پلچار* کوتاهي نمايد ده يک از علوفه وي
کم نمايند وامر نمودم که اون باشي به تصديق
يوز باشي علوفه بگيرد ويوز باشي بتصديق منک
باشي ومنک باشي به تصديق امير الامرا علوفه
بگيرد .

† This mode of fixing the pay of the ſoldier is ſtill practiced in Hindoſtaun. Every ſoldier finds his own horſe, and receives pay in proportion to his value. Select men are ſtill taken into ſervice with two, and ſometimes

Euzbaushees, and the Ounbaushees, and the common Book II. soldiers should be fixed and determined according to the following order.

I ordained that the subsistence of each of the private soldiers, if he were a sufficient and able man, should be fixed at the value of his horse; † and that the subsistence of my select and chosen warriors should be estimated at the value of from two to four horses each.

AND I ordered that the subsistence of the Ounbaushees should be ten times as much as the subsistence of the soldiers under them; and that the subsistence of the Euzbaushees should be twice as much as that of the Ounbaushees; and that the subsistence of the Mingbaushees should be three times as much as the subsistence of the Euzbaushees.

AND I ordained that the soldier who neglected his duty, ‡ should be fined in one tenth of his pay. And I commanded that the Ounbaushees should receive their subsistence under the controul of the Euzbaushees; and that the Euzbaushees should receive their subsistence under the controul of the Mingbaushees; and that the Mingbaushees should receive their subsistence unde. the controul of the Ameer ul Omrau. ||

times three, horses each; which are mounted by their servants, and they receive pay in proportion.

‡ The word thus translated is Mogul, and the sense doubtful.

|| i. e. The chief of the Ameers or Nobles.

وامر نمودم که علوفه امیر الامرا ده برابر علوفه تابینان ایشان بوده باشد وهمچنان امر نمودم که علوفه دیوان بیکی ووزرا ده برابر امرا باشد وعلوفه یساولان وجساولان وقلقچیان* از هزار تا ده هزار مقرر باشد

وعلوفه مجلسیان از سادات وعلما وفضلا وحکما واطبا ومنجمان وارباب قصص وروایات فراخور نسبت ایشان سیورغال* ووظیفه وعلوفه معین دارند وعلوفه پیادگان وخدم وفراشان از صد تا هزار مقرر نمایند

وامر کردم که امیر الامرا بتصدیق دیوان بیکی ووزرا علوفه بگیرد وعرض مراتب علوفه هریک را دیوانبیکی ووزرا بعرض من رسانند وتنخواه دهند

وامر نمودم که یرلیغ علوفه بهریک از سپاه نوشته بسپارند انچه بوی رسانند در پشت همان یرلیغ وصول آن مبلغ بنویسند

† This regulation is not underſtood by the the tranſlator. The words *Yuſſauwullaun*, *Juſſauwullaun*, and *Kulluckcheaun* are Mogul.

تزوک

AND I commanded that the pay of the Ameer ul Omrau ſhould be ten times as much as the pay of the officer ſubordinate unto him. And, in like manner, I ordained that the ſtipends of the Dewaunbeghi and of the Vizzeers ſhould be ten times as much as the ſubſiſtence of the Ameers; and that the ſubſiſtence of the Yuſſauwullaun, the Juſſauwullaun, and the Kulluckcheaun ſhould be eſtabliſhed at from one thouſand to ten thouſand. †

AND I ordained that penſions, and ſalaries, and ſubſiſtence ſhould be conferred on the poſterity of the prophet, and the theologians, and the men of ſcience, and the learned in medicine, and on the aſtrologers, and the hiſtorians, in proportion to their different ranks and ſtations: and that the ſubſiſtence of the foot-ſoldiers, and the domeſtics, and the Furrauſhaun ‡ ſhould be fixed at from a hundred to a thouſand.

AND I ordained alſo that the Ameer ul Omrau ſhould receive his ſubſiſtence under the inſpection of the Dewaunbeghi and the Vizzeers. And I commanded that the Vizzeers and the Dewaunbeghi ſhould lay before me the ſtatement of the ſalaries of each of my people, and pay them agreeably thereto.

AND I ordained that a written order for his ſubſiſtence ſhould be delivered to each of my ſoldiers; and that the ſums which from time to time were advanced unto him, ſhould be written down on the back of that order.

‡ The *Furrauſhaun* are the people employed to erect the tents, &c.

تزوک تنخاه ورسانیدن علوفه بسپاه

امر نمودم که یکساله علوفه پیادگان وقلغچیان ویساولان وجساولان را * بر آورد نموده مبلغ ایشانرا در دیوانخانه آورده بدیشان برسانند

وعلوفه سایر سپاه وبهادرانیکه را امر نمودم که شش ماهه بر آورد نمایند ووجه علوفه ایشانرا از خزانه تنخاه دهند

وامر نمودم که علوفه اون باشي ویوز باشي بر مال اماني شهري وملکي نقد برات نویسند ومنک باشیانرا در میان ولایت یتول* بدهند

وامرا وامیر الامرا را در سرحدها ولایت مقرر نمایند

وامر نمودم که قسمت ولایات بدین طریق نمایند

که جمع حاصل ولایات وممالک را تقسیم نمایند ودر یرلیغها کم وزیاده بنویسند وآن یرلیغها را در دیوانخانه آورده هریک از امرا ومنک باشیان

Book II.

CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT AND PAY OF MY TROOPS.

I commanded that the accompt of twelve months ſubſiſtence for the infantry, and the Kulluck-cheaun, and the Yuſſauwullaun, and the Juſſauwullaun ſhould be made out at one time; and that the money which was their due ſhould be brought forth into the hall of audience, and there delivered unto them.

I ordered that the accompts of the ſubſiſtence of my cavalry in general ſhould be made out every ſix months; and that appointments to the amount of their pay ſhould be delivered unto them from the treaſury.

AND I ordained that for the ſubſiſtence of the Ounbauſhees and the Euzbauſhees written orders ſhould be given on the Maulaumauni † of the cities and the country; and that the interior diſtricts ſhould be allotted for the payment of the Mingbauſhees; and that the ſtipends of the Ameers and the Ameer ul Omrau ſhould be granted on the revenues of the frontier provinces.

AND I COMMANDED THAT THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROVINCES, AND THE DISTRICTS, SHOULD BE MADE IN THIS MANNER:

THAT the amount of the revenues of the various provinces and kingdoms ſhould be divided into lots for more or for leſs, and that a royal aſſignment for the payment of each of thoſe lots ſhould be made out; and that thoſe aſſignments ſhould be brought into the hall

† Impoſts, duties.

of

باشیان یرلیغي بردارند واکر از علوفه وي زیـاده
باشد دیکري را بخود شریک سازد واکر کم باشد
یرلیغ دیکري را بردارد

وامـر نمودم که امرا ومنک باشیان در
تحصیل مال وجهات از رعیت چیزي زیاده از اصل المال
وساوري وتنلغه وشیلان* بها طلب ندارند

وهر مملکت را که یتول* بدهند دو وزیر
بدآن مملکت تعین نمایند یکي جمع ولایت بنویسد
ونسق رعیت نماید تا خرابي بحـال رعیت راه نیابد
وجاکیردار ظلم وتعدي بر رعایا نتواند کرد وانچه
از ولایت تحصیل شود در مداخل جمع نماید ووزیـر
دیکر مخارج بنویسد وبر سپاه قسمت نماید

وبـهـر امیري که یتول* بدهند تا سه
سال بحـال نکاهدارند وبعد از سه سال ملاحـظـه

† *Jaugheer* is a royal grant of certain lands; or more properly an assignment of the crown revenues of a certain district to any one, and revocable at the pleasure of the prince. The holder of this grant is called *Jaugheerdaur*.

نمایند

of audience; and that the Ameers and the Mingbaufhees fhould each of them take one of thofe affignments; and that if the amount thereof exceeded the fum of his fubfiftence, fome one elfe fhould participate with him; and if it were lefs, that another fhould be given in exchange, or added unto it.

AND I commanded that the Ameers and the Mingbaufhees, in collecting the revenues from the fubjects, fhould not on any account demand more than the taxes and duties eftablifhed.

AND to every province on which a royal affignment was granted, I ordained that two fupervifors fhould be appointed to that province: that one of them fhould infpect the collections and watch over the concerns of the inhabitants, that they might not be impoverifhed, and that the Jaugheerdaur † might not ill-ufe or oppreſs them; and that he fhould take an account of all the fums which were collected in the province: and that the other fupervifor fhould keep a regifter of the public expences, and diftribute the revenues among the foldiers.

AND every Ameer who was appointed to a Jaugheer, ‡ I ordained that for the fpace of three years it fhould remain unto him; and that after three years the ftate of the province fhould be infpected. If the inhabi-

‡ In the original *Yettool*; which is Mogul, and has the fame meaning with *Jaugheer*.

tants

نمایند اگر ملک اباد ورعایا راضي باشند بحال
خود دارند واگر بر خلاف این باشد آن ولایت را
بخالصه ضبط کنند وتا سه سال آن جاگیردار را
علوفه ندهند

وامر نمودم که مال از رعیت بسه بیم
وترسانیدن تحصیل نمایند نه بچوب وشلاق چه حکم
حاکمي که از چوب وشلاق کمتر باشد آن حاکم
سزاوار حکومت نباشد

مراتب علوفه فرزندان ونبایر

امر نمودم که فرزند اولین که محمد
جهانگیر است وولي عهد من باشد دوازده هزار سوار را
علوفه وولایت بگیرد

وفرزند دویمین که عمر شیخ است ده
هزار سوار را علوفه وولایت بگیرد

وفرزند سیومین که میران شاه است
نه هزار سوار را علوفه بگیرد وبر ولایت متصرف گردد

وفرزند چهارمین که شاهرخ است هفت
هزار سوار را علوفه وولایت بگیرد

ونبیرگان

tants were ſatisfied, and if the country was flouriſhing and populous, that he ſhould be continued therein: but if the contrary ſhould appear, that the Jaugheer ſhould return unto the crown; and that for the three following years, ſubſiſtence ſhould not be granted to the holder thereof. Book II.

AND I ordained that the collection of the taxes from the ſubject might, when neceſſary, be enforced by menaces and by threats; but never by whips and by ſcourges. The governor whoſe authority is inferior to the power of the ſcourge, is unworthy to govern.

CONCERNING THE SUBSISTENCE OF MY CHILDREN AND DESCENDANTS.

I commanded that my eldeſt ſon, the heir to my throne, who is Mahummud Jehaungheer, ſhould receive the ſubſiſtence of twelve thouſand horſemen, and the aſſignment of territories ſufficient to defray the ſame:

AND that my ſecond ſon, who is Omur Sheikh, ſhould receive the ſubſiſtence of ten thouſand horſemen, and lands correſpondent thereunto:

AND that my third ſon, who is Meeraun Shaah, ſhould receive the ſubſiſtence of nine thouſand horſemen, and the aſſignment of a province for the payment of the ſame:

AND that my fourth ſon, who is Shaahrokh, ſhould receive the ſubſiſtence of ſeven thouſand horſemen, and the aſſignment of a Jaugheer equivalent thereto:

ونبیرکان بقدر استعداد از سه هزار تا
هفت هزار سواررا علوفه وولایت بکیرند

دیکر جماعت را که بمن قرابت داشتند
فراخور حالت واستعداد وامارت وایالت از مرتبه امیر
اول تا امیر هفتم بدهند وهریک در مرتبه حد خود
بوده از حد خود تجاوز نه نمایند وچون خلاف ظاهر
شود مخاطب کردند

در باب سیاست فرزندان ونبیرکان
وخویشان وامرایان ووزرا

امر نمودم که اکر از فرزندان یکي
مدعي مرتبه سلطنت شود درکشتن وبستن وي
جرات نکنند واعضاي ایشان را ناقص نسازند لیکن
در قید نکاهدارند تا از دعوي خود باز آیند تا در
ملک خدا فساد نشود

ونبایر وخویشان اکر مخالفت نمایند
ایشانرا درویش سازند

وامرا

And that my grandſons ſhould receive ſubſiſtence and lands for from three to ſeven thouſand horſe, each according to his capacity and abilities.

To all others who were related unto me, I commanded that ſubſiſtence and appointments ſhould be given, from the rank of firſt Ameer to the rank of ſeventh Ameer, according to the abilities, and the dignity, and the rank of each; and that every one of them ſhould reſt content with the ſtation wherein he was placed, and preſume not to exceed the limits preſcribed unto him; and that if any one of them ſhould diſobey this order, he ſhould be called to a ſtrict account.

Concerning the punishments of my children, and my grandchildren, and my relations, and my chiefs, and my ministers.

I ordained, if either of my ſons ſhould aſpire to the imperial throne, that they ſhould not preſume to put him to death, nor load him with chains; neither ſhould they injure him in his limbs, or his organs; but that they ſhould confine him in a priſon, until he returned back from his evil ways: that civil wars and convulſions might not ariſe in the land of the Lord.

And if any one of my grandchildren, or relations, roſe in enmity againſt me, I ordered him to be reduced to the ſtate of a Dervaiſh. †

† i. e. To be deprived of his honours and fortune; to be reduced to a ſtate of beggary.

وامرا که حصار ملک اند اکر در وقت کار نفاق کنند ایشانرا از امارت وایالت معزول کردانند واکر از ایشان کاري بظهور رسد که از آن کار فسادي در ملک ظاهر شود تابین امرا نمایند واکر در امور سپاهکري کاهلي نمایند داخل نویسندکان سازند واکر بعد آن تقصیري وکوتاهي از ایشان بظهور رسد بار ندهند

در باب وزرا که معتمدان ومعتبران سلسله دولت اند

امر نمودم اکر در امور سلطنت خیانتي از ایشان ظاهر شود وزوال سلطنت اراده نموده باشند در کشتن ایشان تعجیل نه نمایند

وتحقیق کنند که مدعي وتقریر کنندکان ایشان چه کسان اند اول راستي وراست کويء مدعیان بر محک امتحان تجربه نمایند چه حاسدان ومفتریان بسیار باشند که از روي حسد وطمع امر دروغي را بلباس راستي بیارایند تا کار خودرا ساخته کردانند

وبسیار از سفلکان لیم باشند که دشمنان دولت را تسلي نمایند ودولتخواهان جانسپاررا بحیله

And if the Ameers, who are the bulwarks of empire, ſhould diſobey in the hour of action, I ordered that they ſhould be degraded from their commands, and deprived of their powers and their dignities; and that if any of them ſhould be guilty of actions, from whence diſturbances might ariſe in my dominions, that they ſhould be delivered over to the judgement of their peers; and that if they were guilty of neglect in the line of their military duty, they ſhould be claſſed amongſt the ſcribes; and, if in that ſtation they were diſobedient and refractory, that they ſhould be expelled from the imperial ſervice.

Concerning the ministers, who are the most respectable and confidential of the servants of royalty.

I ordained, if they ſhould be guilty of treachery in the concerns of the empire, or form attempts for the ſubverſion of the imperial authority, that their judges ſhould not be precipitate in conſigning them over to death:

And that they ſhould diſcover and aſcertain who were their accuſers, and firſt try the honeſty and truth of the witneſſes on the touchſtone of examination and proof: for the invidious and the ſlanderers are many; who from envy and ſelf-intereſt will cloath falſehood in the garment of truth, that they may accompliſh their own deſigns.

And many there are, worthleſs and wicked men, who will ſupport and encourage the enemies of their prince; and who by fraud, and artifice and trea-

بحیله کري ومکاري خراب سازند وبه مکر وغدر در حصار مملکت رخنه اندازند

چنانچــه امیر حسین به یکي از وزراي من در ساخت وویـرا تطمیع کرد که امـیـر ایکو تیمور وامیر جاکو با آنکه بازويء دولت من بودند با من در اندازد ومن این معني را بفراست در یافتم وسخناني که در حـق ایـشـان بمن میکفتند نا شنیده مي انکاشتم

وهمچنین جمعي از مـقـربـان من از روي حسد ونفاق سخنان غـیــر واقعه از جانب امیر عباس که از امراي کلان معتبـر من بود در خلا وملا بعرض رسانیدند وآتش غضب مرا به باد سخنان دروغ بـر افروخـتـند تا آنکه در حالت غضب تجربه نا کرده امـر بقـتـل وي نموده ودر آخر حال غدر ایـشـانـرا در حق امیر عباس فهمیدم ونادم وپشیمان کـشـتـم

ووزراي مالي که خزانه دار مملکت اند اکر در مالیات تغلب وتـصرف نمایند واکر بمقدار علوفه خود تصرف نموده باشند بانعام وي مقرر دارند

اکر

chery will ruin and deſtroy his loyal and faithful ſubjects; and by falſehood, and perfidy, and deceit ſhake and overturn the foundation of his empire. Book II.

Thus Ameer Hooſſein entered into a treacherous correſpondence with one of my Vizzeers. And he adminiſtered to his avarice, and he prevailed upon him to ſow diſcord and enmity between me and Eekoo Timour and Ameer Jaukoo, who were the ſinews of my power and fortune. And I penetrated into the deſigns of Ameer Hooſſein and my Vizzeer, and I liſtened not to their accuſations againſt them.

And thus alſo ſeveral of thoſe in whom I confided, from envy and from malice, communicated fictitious tales unto me, both in public and in private, to the prejudice of Ameer Ubbaus, who was one of my moſt powerful and moſt faithful chiefs. And they kindled the fire of my reſentment by their falſe reports; and in the moment of anger I ordered him, unheard and unexamined, to be put to death: and in the end I diſcovered the perfidy of his accuſers, and I was aſhamed and confounded at my own conduct.

If the Vizzeers ſuperintending the revenues, who hold the riches of the empire, were guilty of peculation therein; and if the ſums which they appropriated to their own uſe, exceeded not the amount of their ſalaries, I ordered that it ſhould be conferred upon them; that if they had taken ſums to twice the amount of

اگر دو مقدار علوفه متصرف شده باشند در علوفه
وي حساب نمايند اگر سه برابر علوفه خود گرفته
باشند پيشكش گويان از وي تحصيل نمايند

وامر نمودم كه از روي اعتبار برنگيرند
واعتبار كرده خودرا بي اعتبار نكنند تا آنكه غلط بر
سلطنت لازم نيايد

وسخنان ارباب غرض واشرار وحاسدان
در حق وزرا نشنوند كه اين طبقه‌را دشمنان بسيار
باشند چه اهل عالم همه دنيا طلب اند اگر وزرا
رعايت ايشان نمايند خيانت كرده باشند واگر رعايت
نكنند كمر بدشمني بر بندند

چغتاء خان وزيري داشت كه ارباب
تغرير چندين هزار درست زر بروي نوشته بودند چون
آن نوشته‌را بنظر خان در آوردند وزيررا مخاطب
ساخت واز روي عتاب گفت كه تو مرد پست فطرتي
ظاهر شدي چه وزير مثل من پادشاي باشي واز
مملكت من همين قدر قليل تصرف نماي وزير
خردمند بهمين احسان ممنون شده هر چه داشت
آورده

of their ſubſiſtence, it ſhould be deducted therefrom; and that, if they had defrauded the revenues to three times the amount of their ſalaries, the imperial collectors ſhould levy it upon their fortunes. Book II.

AND I ordered that the collectors ſhould not take more than was due; but that their conduct ſhould be governed by equity and juſtice, that abuſes might not creep into the ordinances of government.

I commanded that the tales of the wicked, the envious, and the malicious againſt my Vizzeers ſhould not be attended to. For miniſters are a claſs of men who have many enemies; and the inhabitants of this world are ſearchers after the things thereof. If a miniſter patronizes and ſupports them, they will deceive and betray him; and if he neglects thoſe people, they will gird up their loins in oppoſition unto him.

CHUGHTAÏ Khaun had a miniſter whom the ſons of calumny accuſed of peculation to the amount of many thouſand pieces of money. When they preſented the impeachment to the king, he commanded the Vizzeer into his preſence, and thus reproached him, "It "is evident that thou art a wretch of a moſt abject diſ- "poſition, ſince being the miniſter of a prince rich and "powerful as I am, thou canſt be meanly content with "defrauding thy maſter of ſuch poor and contemptible "ſums as theſe." The ſagacious and good Vizzeer, thus

آورده پیشکش خان کرد وعزت واعـتـبـار خـودرا نـکـاهـداشـت

وسایر سپاه اکـر از حد خـود تجـاوز نموده بر زیر دستي ستمي کنند ویـرا بدست آن مظلوم بسپارند که داد خودرا از وي بکیرد

وکلانـتران وکدخدایان اکر بر ریزه رعیت ظـلـمي کرده باشند فـراخـور ظلم وموافـق استطاعت از وي جریمه کیرند حاکم وداروغـه اکر از روي تعدي رعیت را خراب ساخـتـه باشد ایشانرا جـزا دهند وامر نمودم که بعد از ثبوت کناه اکر از کنه کار جریمه کیرند بـشـلاق سیاست نکنند واکر بشلاق سیاست کنند جریمه نکیرند

دزدرا امر نمودم در هـر جا کـه باشـد وهرکس بـیابد بـیاسا رسانند

وهر کس مال کسي را بتعدي کرفـتـه باشد مال آن مظلوم را از ظـالم کرفـتـه بصاحب مال رسـانـنـد

وباقي

honoured by the kindneſs of his prince, brought forth all that he had, and laid it at the feet of his lord; and thus preſerved both his influence and his honour. Book II.

AND I commanded that if any one of my ſoldiers, exceeding the limits preſcribed him, ſhould injure or oppreſs the weak and the helpleſs, he ſhould be delivered into the hands of the injured perſon, that he might retaliate upon him.

AND if the chiefs or the nobles of any tribe or people extorted from the induſtrious huſbandman his ſmall pittance, I commanded that a fine ſhould be levied on the guilty perſon in proportion to the degree of extortion, and to his ability to make retribution: and if the governor or ſuperintendant ſhould cruelly deſtroy the property of a ſubject, that he ſhould be brought to puniſhment: but I ordained that after conviction, if the guilty perſon was fined, in that caſe corporal puniſhment ſhould not be inflicted; and if corporal puniſhment was inflicted, I ordered that he ſhould not be fined.

ROBBERS and thieves, in whatever place they might be found, or by whomſoever detected, I commanded to be put to death.

AND I ordained, that, if any one ſeized by violence the property of another, the value of that property ſhould be taken from the oppreſſor, and be reſtored to the oppreſſed.

وباقي امور از دندان شکستن وچشم
کور کردن وکوش بيني بريدن وشراب خوردن
وزنا کردن اکر از کسی بوقوع آيد در ديوان
قاضي اسلام وقاضي احداث اجلاس نموده انچه
امور شرعي باشند قاضي اسلام در آنها حکم نمايد
وانچه عرفي باشد قاضي احداث تحقيق کرده
بعرض من رساند

تزوک نکاهداشت وزرا

امر نمودم در وزرا چهار صفت احتياط
نمايند اول اصالت ونجابت دويم عقل وکياست
سيوم سلوک ومعاش با سپاه ورعيت چهارم بردباري
ومسالمت
هرکس باين چهار صفت موصوف باشد
ويرا قابل مرتبه وزارت دانند ووزير ومشير سازند
وعنان امور مملکت وسپاه ورعيت بوي سپارند آنکاه
ويرا بچهار چيز امتياز بخشند اعتماد واعتبار واختيار
واقتدار

کامل

CONCERNING other crimes, the breaking of teeth, and the putting out of eyes, and the ſlitting and cutting off the ears and noſe, and wine-drinking and adultery, I ordained that whoever ſhould be guilty of theſe, or other crimes, they ſhould be brought into the court of the eccleſiaſtical and civil judges: that the eccleſiaſtical magiſtrate ſhould decide on thoſe cauſes, which are determinable by the ſacred laws; and that thoſe which did not fall under his cognizance, ſhould be inveſtigated, and laid before me by the civil judge. Book II.

CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS.

I ordained that in Vizzeers four qualities ſhould be particularly attended to: Firſt, firmneſs and generoſity: Secondly, underſtanding and ſagacity: Thirdly, the power of living in harmony with the ſoldiers and the ſubjects: Fourthly, patience under difficulties, and talents for the cultivation of peace and tranquillity:

THAT whoever was endowed with theſe four qualities ſhould be conſidered as equal to the office of Vizzeer; ſhould be made both miniſter and counſellor, and the reins of the concerns of the government, of the army, and the ſubjects be delivered over to his care; that preeminence ſhould be conferred upon him by four things, confidence, and eſteem, and diſcretionary power, and authority.

THAT

كامل الوزارت وزيري باشد كه رتق
وفتق معاملات وامور ملكي ومال را از روي نيكي
ونيكذاتي وحسن سلوك صورت دهد واز جايي كه
نبايد كرفت نكيرد وبجايي نبايد داد ندهد ودر
اوامر ونواهي اثار نجابت واصالت از وي ظاهر كردد
ونفاق ودراندازي از وي ظاهر نشود ونام همه كس از
سپاه ورعيت به نيكي برد وبدي هيچكس نكويد
ونشنود واكر از كسي بدي ديده باشد چنان
سلوك نمايد كه آن شخص از بدي خود باز آيد
وبد كننده خودرا نيكي كند تا بسوي وي باز
كشت نمايد

وهر وزيري كه بد كويد وبد شنود
ودراندازي بكند ومردم نيك را خواهد بواسطه بدي
كه بوي داشته باشد خراب سازد ويرا از وزارت معزول
نمايد
وبد ذاتان وحاسدان وكينه داران واشراررا
وزارت ندهند چه اثاري كه از وزارت اشرار وسفلكان
مترتب كردد همين است كه دولت وسلطنت زود
روي بزوال آورد

چنانچه ملكشاه سلجوقي نظام الملك وزير
خودرا

THAT miniſter ſhall be equal to his office, who ordereth and conducteth the affairs and concerns of the government, of land, and of property, with uprightneſs, and integrity, and moderation; who taketh not where it ſhould not be taken, and remitteth not where it ſhould not be remitted; who in his ordinances and prohibitions giveth proofs of lenity and of firmneſs; in whom hypocriſy and diſſimulation ſhall not appear; who ſpeaketh well of the ſoldier and of the ſubject; and who neither heareth nor ſayeth evil of another; who, if he diſcovereth bad deſigns in any one, ſhall ſo conduct himſelf towards him, that he ſhall turn back from his iniquitous intentions; and who ſhall do good to the man who doeth evil unto him, that he may return into the path of friendſhip.

LET the Vizzeer who heareth and ſayeth evil of others, who ſoweth contention, and who endeavoureth to ruin a good and virtuous man, from the malice which he beareth unto him, be expelled from his office.

THE office of the Vizzaurut muſt not be conferred on the wicked, the envious, the revengeful, or the ſeditious: for the conſequence that ſhall follow from the adminiſtration of ſuch men, is the ſpeedy diſſolution of the imperial fortune and empire.

THUS it happened to Mullick Shaah Siljokee. He diſgraced his Vizzeer Nizzaum ul Moolluk, who

خودرا که بجمع صفات حسنه آراسته بود معزول ساخته وسغله شریری را بجای وی نصب کرد بشامت اعمال وشرارت وبد نفسی وی بنای سلطنتش روی بانهدام آورد

وهمچنین معتصم بالله عباسی علقمی را که بصفت حسد وکینه موصوف بود وزیرا خود ساخت بواسطه کینه که از خلیفه در خاطر داشت بسخنان منافقانی خلیفه‌را بازی داد وهلاکو خان را ترغیب نموده بر سر خلیفه آورد وویرا گرفتار ساخت ورسید بخلیفه انچه رسید

پس وزیری را اختیار نماید که اصیل ونجیب ونیکذات ونیکو کار باشد که اصل خطا نکند وبد اصل وفا ننماید

وهر وزیری که از راه سلامتی نفس وراستی بامر وزارت قیام نماید وامور ملکی ومالی را از راه صواب ودیانت وامانت پرداخت کند ویرا بمراتب عالیه رسانند

ووزیری

who was adorned with every great and ſhining quality; Book II.
and appointed an ignoble and worthleſs man in his place. By the ill conduct, viciouſneſs, and villainy of that miniſter the foundation of the power of Mullick Shaah was overturned.

In this manner Al Kummi, who was noted for his malevolent and revengeful diſpoſition, was raiſed to the dignity of firſt miniſter by Maatuſſim Billau Ubbauſi. Influenced by the ſecret rancour which he harboured in his ſoul againſt the Khulleefeh, that wicked miniſter deceived his maſter with the language of treachery; and exciting the ambition of Hullaukoo Khaun, drew the powerful arms of that prince on the head of the unſuſpecting Khalif: he cauſed his perſon to be ſeized; and that befell the Khalif which did befall him.

Therefore the Vizzeer to be choſen is a man of illuſtrious deſcent, and of a noble heart, and of a virtuous diſpoſition, and of prudent conduct. The truly illuſtrious ſwerve not from their duty; but in the baſe and ignoble fidelity and good faith are not to be found.

And every Vizzeer who conducteth himſelf in his high ſtation with uprightneſs and integrity; who directeth the various departments of government with rectitude, and with fidelity, and with reſpect to the ſacred laws, let him be exalted to the higheſt dignities.

ووزيري كه از شرارت وبد نفسي
معاملات را انجام دهد زود باشد كه خير وبركت از
آن سلطنت برخيزد

ووزير دانا وزيري باشد كه بدرشتي
ونرمي كار كند نه بسيار درشت باشد ونه بسيار
نرم اكر بسيار نرمي بكار برد دنيا طلبان وطماعان
ويرا فرو برند اكر بسيار درشتي نمايد از وي بكريزند
وبوي رجوع ننمايند

پس وزير دانا وزيري باشد كه كارخانه
سلطنت به حسن سلوك وفهميدكي نظام وانتظام
دهد ودر امور سلطنت تحمل وبردباري بكار
برد ومعاملات را بدرشتي ونرمي فيصل دهد

واين قسم وزيري را شريك دولت دانند
چه دولت سلطنت بملك وخزانه ولشكر قايم باشد
واين هر سه بوزير دانا اصلاح وانجام يابد

ووزير جامع الاخلاق وزيري باشد كه
بواسطه نا ملايمه كه بوي رسد كينه ونفاق را در
دل

AND if the minifter tranfacteth the important concerns of empire by villainy and artifice, it fhall fpeedily happen that the power and profperity of that empire fhall pafs away. Book II.

THAT MINISTER IS A WISE MINISTER, who in his conduct employeth both mildnefs and feverity; who is neither immoderately fevere, nor weakly compliant. For if he acteth with too much mildnefs and compliance, the avaricious and wordly-minded will opprefs and bear him down: and if his feverity be exceffive, the people will fly from before him, and at all times avoid his prefence.

THEREFORE THAT MINISTER IS A WISE MINISTER, who regulateth and giveth order to the edifice of royalty by a juft knowledge of mankind, and by an uniform and prudent conduct; who in the execution of his office acteth with patience and forbearance, and conducteth the affairs of government with mildnefs and with feverity.

LET fuch a Vizzeer be confidered as a friend and companion in the imperial dignity. For the dignity of empire is fupported by extenfive territories, by a rich treafury, and by numerous armies: and thefe three things fhall be obtained and fecured by a WISE MINISTER.

A PERFECT MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, who, in confequence of any harfhnefs that fhall be offered unto him, permitteth not revenge and enmity to take poffeffion

 of

دل خود راه ندهد اکر کینه دار ومنافق باشد از وي پر حذر باید بود که مبادا بدشمنان دولت سازکاري نماید وخزانه ولشکر را مختل کرداند

وزیر عاقل وزیري باشد که رعیت را بیک دست کیرد وسپاه را بیک دست واز جاي که نباید کرفت نکیرد وبجاي که نباید داد ندهد وحزم واحتیاط را از دست ندهد وبراستي ودرستي معامله نماید ونظر بر عواقب امور کند ودر هنکامه رتق وفتق معاملات خصم را در مقابلهء خود نه بیند

وزیر کاردان کارکذار وزیري باشد که معموري مملکت ورفاهت رعیت وجمعیت سپاه وتوفیر خزانه را در نظر داشته باشد واموري که به دولت سلطنت نفع رساند در تمشیت آن سعي نماید واموري که بسلطنت ضرر رساند در دفع آن بمال وجان ساعي باشد ومهمات سپاه ورعیت را بر وجه خیر وصلاح فیصل دهد

ووزیر

of his ſoul. If he be malignant, and harbour revenge, he muſt be watched with care and with caution; leſt he enter into confederacies with the enemies of the imperial power, and involve in confuſion the revenues and the army of his prince. Book II.

AN INTELLIGENT AND SAGACIOUS MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, who ſupporteth the ſubject with one hand, and with the other hand holdeth up the ſoldier; who receiveth not whence it ſhould not be received; and who giveth not where it ſhould not be given; who letteth not vigilance and circumſpection forth from his hand; who acteth with uprightneſs and integrity; who looketh forward to the concluſion and conſequences of every tranſaction; and who in negotiating the affairs of the empire ſeeth not his enemy before him.

THAT MINISTER IS AN EXPERIENCED AND ACTIVE MINISTER, who keepeth in his eye the cultivation and population of the country, and the proſperity of the ſubjects, and the ſtrength of the army, and the fulneſs of the treaſury; who exerteth himſelf in promoting thoſe meaſures which are profitable to government, and hazardeth his fortune and his life in counteracting thoſe, from which evil may follow to the imperial dignity; and who directeth the concerns of the ſoldier and the ſubject with prudence and deliberation.

A vir-

ووزير نيكو محضر وزيري باشد كه اعمال
خيرش غالب بر افعال شر وي بود

چنين بمسامع من رسيد كه افعال
ذميمه نظام الملك مغلوب اعمال خيرش بوده در آن
وقتي كه وي اراده حج كرد يكي از رجال الله
بوي كفت همين عمل خيري كه در دولت ملكشاه
از تو صادر ميشود كه بندهاي خدا از تو نفع مي
بينند برابر حج است

وبعرض من رسيد كه علي بن لقطي
كه وزير هارون الرشيد بود چون نفع وي بخلق
خدا بسيار ميرسيد روزي كه ارادهء ترك وزارت نمود
يكي از ايمه دين بوي نوشت كه ترا است كه بر
دركاه خليفه ملازم امر وزارت باشي وجداي‌ء اختيار
نكني كه امداد ونفعي كه به بندكان خدا ميرساني
سر آمد جميع اعمال وافعال حسنه تو باشد

وچنين شنيدم كه چون از حضرت
رسول صلي الله عليه وسلم سوال كردند كه اكر
شما به نبوت ورسالت مبعوث نمي شديد بكدام كار
اشتغال

A VIRTUOUS MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, whofe good qualities predominate over his failings. Book II.

THUS I have heard, that the failings of Nizzaum ul Moolluk were vanquifhed by his virtues. At that time when he refolved to perform the holy pilgrimage, one of the men of God faid unto him; "Thy "good actions which fhine forth in the glory and the "power of Mullick Shaah, and the bleffings which the "people of the Almighty receive from thy hands, are "equal to all the merits of pilgrimage and of fanctity."

AND it has alfo been related unto me, that on the day when Aali Ben Luckti, who was the minifter of Hauroon ul Rufheed, determined to retire from the Vizzaurut; as his adminiftration had been favourable to the people of God, one of the holy priefts wrote to him, faying, "Thou fhalt continue to execute thy office in the "palace of the Khalif; thou fhalt not relinquifh thy au-"thority: for the comforts and the benefits which thou "conferreft on the fervants of the Almighty, are fuperior "to all the good and glorious actions of thy life."

AND fo alfo I have heard, that when it was demanded of the holy prophet, (on whom be the protection of God) "If thou hadft not been fent forth "the meffenger and prophet of the Almighty, what oc-"cupation wouldeft thou have chofen?" He anfwered, faying,

اشتغال میفرمودید فرمودند که خدمت سلاطین
اختیار میکردم تا بخلق خدا نفع رسانم

از این جهت بود که وزارت وسپهسالاري
الیاس خواجه پسر تغلقتیمور خان را قبول کرده بودم
که امداد خلق نمایم واز مددکاري خلق خدا بود
که الله تعالي مرا بمرتبه سلطنت رسانید

ووزیري که بتدبیر وشمشیر ملکي را
مسخر سازد یا نگاهداري ملک نماید آن وزیر را عزیز
ومحترم دارند وبر مراتبش بیفزایند ووبرا صاحب
السیف والقلم خطاب دهند

ووزیر خردمند وهوشمند وزیري باشد
که براي وتدبیر لشکریرا متفرق سازد وبسازکاري
وخوش سلوک لشکریرا متفق گرداند وافواج دشمن را
بخود رام کند ونگاهبان ولي نعمت خود باشد وهر
مهمي ومشکلي که پادشاه را پیش آید به راي
وتدبیر ودور بیني آن مشکل را آسان گرداند اگر
بستگي

ſaying, "I would have ſought the ſervice of princes; "that I might have been able to do good to the ſervants "of my Creator."

AND it was on this account that I conſented to accept the employments of miniſter and general from Ouleaus Khaujeh, the ſon of Tughulluk Timour Khaun; that I might ſuccour and ſupport the people. And from the aſſiſtance and protection which I afforded to his ſervants, it may have come to paſs that Almighty God hath exalted me to the throne of empire.

AND if a miniſter by ſkilful meaſures, or by the ſword, conquereth or ſaveth a kingdom, let him be held in honour and reſpect; and let him be exalted and ſtiled, THE LORD OF THE SWORD AND THE PEN.

A SKILFUL AND ABLE MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, who, when neceſſary, can by his counſels and abilities diſperſe and divide the power of armies; and who, when occaſion calleth, can by well-adapted and ſkilful meaſures unite them together; who hath the capacity to ſow diviſions among the forces of the enemy, and to make them ſubſervient to his views, and to be the conſervator of his prince and maſter; who can, by his ſagacity, and wiſdom, and foreſight reſolve and render eaſy the momentous concerns and difficulties which ſurround a king; and who,

بستکي در امور سلطنت بهم رسد آنرا بسر انکشت عقل ونکر بکشاید

چنانچه در وقتي که علي بيک چون غرباني مرا در بند انداخت ودر خانه پسر از کيک مقيد ساخت عزيز الدين که از وزراي من بود از ترمذ ايلغار کرده خودرا بمن رسانيد وعلي بيک را در خواب کرد وچشم ويرا از من پوشانيد ومرا قرت داد تا ببازوي شجاعت ومردي بضرب شمشير از ميان نکاهبانان بر آمده نجات يافتم چنانچه نظام الملک سلطان ملکشاه را از بند قيصر خلاص ساخت

پس اين چنين وزيري را شريک دولت دانند وعزيز دارند واز کفتار او تجاوز ننمايند که انچه کويد همه از روي عقل باشد

اکر پادشاه ظالم باشد ووزيرش عادل بود تدارک ظلم پادشاه ميشود ليکن اکر وزير ظالم باشد زود باشد که سلسله امور سلطنت بر هم خورد

تزوک

f the affairs of empire be involved in confufion, can reluce them to order by the hand of underftanding and ·eflection.

THUS at the time that Aali Beg Choun Ghoorbauni feized on my perfon, and confined me in a loathfome dungeon, filled with vermin; Aazeez u deen, who was one of my Vizzeers, came to me from Turmuz with fpeed; and lulling to fleep the attention of Aali Beg, and hiding his eyes from his prifoner, he gave fuch vigour to my hopes, that with the arm of fortitude and refolution, and by the edge of the fword, I extricated myfelf from the guards which were ftationed over me, and recovered my freedom. In the like manner Nizzaum ul Moolluk delivered Mullick Shaah from the hands of Keefur.

LET therefore fuch a minifter be accounted the companion of the imperial fortune; let him be treated with kindnefs and affection, and let not his counfels be difregarded: for that which he fayeth, proceedeth from wifdom and underftanding.

If a king be oppreffive, and his Vizzeer be juft, the oppreffions of the king are moderated and rectified by the juftice of the Vizzeer; but if the Vizzeer be oppreffive, the affairs of that government fhall be fpeedily involved in confufion.

تـــزوک مرتبه امارت وايالت

امـــر نهودم که به سيصد وسيزده مرد که نوکران خاص الخـــاص من بـــودند امارت بدهـــند واين مردم بودند که باصالت ونجابت وعقل وکياست وتهور وشجاعت وتدبير وحزم واحتياط ودور بيني وعاقبت انديشي موصوف بودند

واز براي هريک کوتل* تعين کردم اگر يکي از ايشان را موت وفوت پـــيـــش آيد آن کوتل جانشين وي باشد وآن کوتل را منـــتـــظر الامارت نام نـــهـــادم

واين سيصد وسيـــزده امير من صاحبان عقل وهوش وبـــزم ورزم وصف آراي ولشکر شـــکـــنـــي بـــودند

وبتجـــربـــه من رسيده که لايـــق امارت وايالت مردي تواند بود که رموز جنگ وشيوه شکست دادن غنيم را در يابد ووقت جنگ دل از دست ندهد ودست وپا کم نکند وافـــواج را کار بفرمايد واگر در صفوف لشکر رخنه بظهور رسد آن رخنه را تواند بربـــســـت

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF SUPERIOR OFFICERS.

I commanded that three hundred and thirteen perſons from among my choſen and ſuperior ſervants ſhould be advanced to exalted dignities. And thoſe were men who were renowned for their high lineage, and for nobleneſs of mind, and for underſtanding, and for penetration, and for reſolution, and for intrepidity, and for ſkill, and for vigilance, and for caution, and for foreſight, and for deep reflection.

AND to each of them I appointed another perſon, who on the death of the firſt ſhould ſucceed to his rank and dignity; and him I entitled AN EXPECTER OF PREFERMENT.

AND theſe three hundred and thirteen Ameers were men of judgement and of knowledge; and they were learned in the arts of peace and of war; and they were ſkilled in the evolutions of armies, and in breaking the lines of the enemy.

FOR by experience it is known unto me, that he only is equal to ſtations of power and dignity, who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defeating hoſtile armies; who in the hour of battle giveth not his heart forth from his hand, nor permitteth apprehenſion and terror to take poſſeſſion of his ſoul; who can direct the efforts of his troops; and if their ranks be thrown into confuſion, can by his abilities reſtore them to order.

HE

وامیر الامرا او تواند بود که در بزم ورزم
نایب وقایم مقام من باشد وبشوکت ومهابت تواند
که لشکریرا کار فرماید وهرکس را که مخالفت وي
کند تواند که سیاست نماید

وامر نمودم که از جمله سیصد وسیزده
نفر چهار کس بیکلر بیکي باشند ویک نفر امیر
الامراء مقرر باشد که حکم وي در یساقها وجنکها بر
امرا وسایر سپاه جاري باشد ووي در حضور من نایب
من باشد

دوازده مرد دیکررا که صاحب غیرت
وناموس بودند بدین ترتیب امارت دادم
امیر اول را امارت هزار کس داده بر
ایشان امیر کردانیدم وامیر دوم را امارت دو هزار کس
دادم وبر آن دو هزار کس امیر ساختم همچنین
امیر سیوم وچهارم وپنجم را بر سه هزار چهار هزار پنج
هزار کس امیر کردانیدم تا دوازده امیر بهمین ترتیب
بر شش هزار کس تا دوازده هزار کس امیر ساختم
وهریک را بترتیب امارت نایب دیکري مقرر نمودم
چنانچه امیر اول نایب امیر دوم وامیر

HE is capable of filling the ſtation of chief of the Omraus, who is worthy of being my lieutenant in peace and in war; who can rule the armies with majeſty and with authority; and who hath the vigour to chaſtize thoſe who riſe in oppoſition to his commands.

I commanded, that of the fore-going three hundred and thirteen Ameers, four ſhould be appointed Beglerbegs; † and that one ſhould be exalted to the dignity of Ameer ul Omrau: whoſe authority ſhould be over the Ameers and the army, in the field and in action; and who in my preſence ſhould act as my deputy.

TWELVE OTHER PERSONS, MEN OF REPUTATION AND RENOWN, I EXALTED TO HIGH COMMANDS, ACCORDING TO THIS ORDER.

To the firſt Ameer I gave in charge a thouſand men, and appointed him commander over them. And to the ſecond Ameer I gave the command of two thouſand men; and appointed him their chief. And, in the ſame manner, to the third, and the fourth, and the fifth Ameer I gave the command of three, and four, and five thouſand men: and thus from the ſixth to the twelfth Ameer, from ſix thouſand up to twelve thouſand. And each, according to his rank, I appointed the deputy and repreſentative of his ſuperior.

THUS I appointed the firſt Ameer the deputy of the ſecond, and the ſecond Ameer the deputy of

† i. e. Generals or commanders of the firſt rank.

دوم نایب سیوم همچنین امیر یازدهم را نایب امیر
دوازدهم ساختم وامیر دوازدهم نایب امیر الامرا باشد
وامیر الامرا نایب من باشد تا اگر قضیه پیش آید
نایب قایم مقام وي کردد

واز جمله سیصد وسیزده مرد امر نمودم
که صد مردرا اون باشي نمایند وصد کس را یوز
باشي وصد کس را مینک باشي

وامر کردم که در وقت چار وپلچار* امیر
الامرا بامرا ومینک باشیان ویوز باشیان واون باشیان
خبر رسانند وکار اون باشي را به یوز باشي نفرمایند
همچنین کار یوز باشي را به مینک باشي
وکار مینک باشي را بامیر وکار امیر را بامیر الامرا
نفرمایند
ومهمي که باون باشي بانجام رسد به
یوز باشي محتاج نشوند وهمچنین کاري که از یوز
باشي بر آید بمینک باشي محتاج نکردانند
وهریک از امرا که از روي رغبت کار
طلب باشد بوي بفرمایند

تزک

the third; thus alſo the eleventh Ameer the deputy of the twelfth Ameer, and the twelfth Ameer the deputy of the Ameer ul Omrau, and the Ameer ul Omrau my deputy: that if an accident ſhould happen, the one might ſupply the place of another. Book II.

I alſo commanded that from amongſt theſe three hundred and thirteen Ameers, a hundred ſhould be ſtiled Ounbauſhees, that one other hundred ſhould be called Euzbauſhees, and that the third hundred ſhould be ſtiled Mingbauſhees.

AND I ordained that in times of ſervice the Ameer ul Omrau ſhould iſſue orders to the Ameers, and the Mingbauſhees, and the Euzbauſhees, and the Ounbauſhees: and that the duty of the Ounbauſhee ſhould not be impoſed on the Euzbauſhee; and in the like manner that the duty of the Euzbauſhee ſhould not be impoſed on the Mingbauſhee; nor the duty of the Mingbauſhee on the Ameer; nor the duty of the Ameer on the Ameer ul Omrau:

AND that on ſuch ſervice as might be executed by an Ounbauſhee, an Euzbauſhee ſhould not be ordered; and that a Mingbauſhee ſhould not be ſent on a ſervice which could be performed by an Euzbauſhee:

AND that every one of the Ameers, who, from a ſpirit of enterpriſe, demanded employment, that his requeſt ſhould be granted.

تـزک تربـیـت سپاه از مرتبهء ادنی تا بـمـرتـبـه اعـلـی

امر نمودم که از بـهـادرانیکه که شمشیر نمایان زده باشد در شمشیـر اول اون باشی نمایند ودر شمشیر دوم یوز باشی کنند ودر شمشیر سیوم مینک باشی سازند وتابـینان اون باشی را در شمشیر اول اون باشی گردانند

وامـر نمودم که شمشیر حفـظ را منظور ندارند که گاو هم شاخ میزنند پس نظر بر اصالت ونجابت سپاهی هم باید کرد

ومینک بـاشی چـون بضرب شمشیـر فوجی را بشکنند امیر اول گردانند وامیر اول چون صف شکنی نماید امیر دوم سازند وهمچنین هر امیری که کار نمایان کرده فوج شکنی کند از مرتبه وی بالاتـر ترقـی فرمایند وسایـر سپاه چون شمشیر بزنند علوفه ایشان بـیفزایند

وهر

REGULATIONS OF PROMOTIONS AND REWARDS TO MY SOLDIERS FROM THE MEANEST TO THE MOST EXALTED.

I ordained, if any one of my ſelect ſoldiers diſtinguiſhed himſelf in battle, that in recompence for the firſt exploit he ſhould be made an Ounbauſhee, and for the ſecond exploit an Euzbauſhee, and for the third exploit a Mingbauſhee; and that the Taubeenaun † of the Ounbauſhee ſhould for the firſt exploit be raiſed to the rank of Ounbauſhee.

I ordained alſo, that an atchievement which ſprung from attention to perſonal ſafety in the moment of peril, ſhould not be regarded: for the ox will ſometimes ſtrike with his horns, and turn upon his purſuers. Therefore the firmneſs and the ſpirit of the ſoldier muſt alſo be conſidered.

I commanded, when a Mingbauſhee vanquiſhed the forces of his antagoniſt by the edge of the ſword, that he ſhould be raiſed to the rank of firſt Ameer: and that the firſt Ameer, on defeating the army of his foe, ſhould be appointed ſecond Ameer: and thus, that every Ameer who ſignalized his valour and abilities, and overthrew the forces of his enemy, ſhould be promoted from his own to a ſuperior ſtation: and that the private ſoldiers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battle, ſhould be rewarded by an increaſe of pay.

† i.e. The inferior to the Ounbauſhee.

وهر سپـــاهي كه در وقت كار روي
گرداند ويرا كورنش ندهند واكر مضطر شده روي
كردان شده باشد معذورش دارند واكر واهمه بر
وي غلبه كرده باشد ويرا باولي* بدهند وهر سپاهي
كه شمشير زند وزخم بردارد ويرا جلدو* بدهند واكر
زخم برداشـــته رو كردان شده باشد ويـــرا تحسين
نمايند وزخم خوردن ويرا اعتبار كنند كه اكر وي به
غنيـم نرسيده باشد اما غنيم بوي رسيده وزخم وي
كواه حال وي باشد

وحق سپاهي را ضايع نسازند وهر سپاهي
كه به پيري رسد ويرا از علوفه ومرتبه محروم ومعزول
نكردانند وكار سپاه را پوشيده ندارند ومردم سپاهي
كه حيات باقي خودرا بمال فاني ميفروشند مستحق
جلدو* باشند ولايق انعام وتربـــيت اكر ويرا از انعام
محروم سازند وكارش را پوشيده دارند بي انصافي
كرده بـــاشـــنـــد

وامر نمودم كه هر اميري ووزيري وسپاهي
كه حـــق خدمت بر دولت من ثـــابت كرده باشد

† This word is Mogul, and the meaning unknown.

ولشكري

To every ſoldier who turned his back in the hour of action, I ordered that Koorniſh † ſhould not be given; and that if he fled from abſolute neceſſity, he ſhould be pardoned; and that if he ſhould be ſtruck with a panic, and fly in conſequence thereof, that he ſhould be pardoned alſo; ‡ and that to every ſoldier, who ſhould fight with reſolution, and be wounded in action, a compenſation ſhould be given; and that if he ſhould be wounded in battle, and then retire from the field, his conduct ſhould be applauded. The wound which he had received ſhould be conſidered as a proof, that if he reached not to the enemy, yet the arm of the enemy extended unto him: his wound ſhould be a witneſs in his favour.

I ordained that the right of the warrior ſhould not be injured; and that the ſoldier who had grown in years ſhould not be deprived of his ſtation or his wages; and that the actions of the ſoldier ſhould not be ſuppreſſed: for thoſe men who ſell their permanent happineſs for periſhable honour, merit compenſation, and are worthy of reward and encouragement. If a ſoldier ſhould be deprived of his reward, and his actions ſhould be hidden from the light, it would be an act of injuſtice.

I ordained that every chief, miniſter, and ſoldier, who by his ſervices had eſtabliſhed a claim on my fortune; who had defeated an army, or reduced a king-

‡ The Mogul word is *Bauwulli*, and the ſenſe is doubtful.

ولشكري را شكست داده يا ملكي را مسخر نموده
يا شمشيري زده باشد حق خدمت ويرا منظور دارند
وحق ويرا ادا نمايند

وپيران سپاهرا بعزت بدارند وسخنان از
ايشان بشنوند كه انچه ايشان بكويند از تجربه خواهد
بود وايشانرا مصالح كارخانه سلطنت دانند بعد از
ايشان فرزندان ايشان را قايم مقام ايشان نمايند

وامر نمودم كه هر سپاهي از جانب غنيم
كرفتار كردد ويرا نكشند ومختار كردانند اكر
نوكري قبول كند نوكر سازند والا آزاد كردانند
چنانچه من چهار هزار رومي را آزاد كردم

وهر سپاه كه از جانب غنيم شمشير زند
وحق نمك بجاي آورد خواه از روي اختيار خواه از
روي اضطرار اكر التجا بدركاه من آورد بروي
اعتماد نمايند وعزيز دارند كه وفاداري بصاحب خود
كرده وحق نمك بجاي آورده

چنانچه من به شير بهرام كردم كه وي
در جنك امير حسين بمن در جنك رو بر رو شد
وشمشيرها نمايان زد چون از روي اضطرار بمن پناه
آورد ويرا احترام كردم

ومنكلي

kingdom, or diſtinguiſhed his valour in the hour of battle; that his claims ſhould be regarded, and that the price of his ſervices ſhould be paid unto him:

AND that the aged warriors ſhould be treated with honour and attention; and that their counſel and opinion ſhould be heard (for that which they ſay, muſt proceed from experience) and that they ſhould be conſidered as the ornaments of my empire; and that on their demiſe, their ſons ſhould ſucceed to their ſtations and dignities.

I ordained that the hoſtile ſoldier taken in battle ſhould not be put to death; and that military ſervice and freedom ſhould be offered to his choice; that if he conſented to enter into my ſervice, he ſhould be received; if not, that he ſhould be ſet at liberty. In this manner I once gave freedom to 4000 Roomi. †

I ordered that every ſoldier who had performed his duty, and fought with valour on the ſide of my enemy, if, from choice or neceſſity, he ſought ſhelter under my authority, that he ſhould be received with confidence, and treated with honour and regard: ſince he had performed his duty, and acted with fidelity to his former maſter.

THUS I rewarded Share Behraum; who in an action with Ameer Hooſſein oppoſed me face to face, and fought with aſtoniſhing valour: when through neceſſity he fled to me for protection, I received him with honour.

† Turks.

THUS

ومنكلي بوغا در جنك بلخ بر من لشكر
كشيد ومن پيش از جنك بوي پيغام داده خواستم
بطرف خود بكشم وي نمك تغلقتيمور خان را فراموش
نكرد ولشكر آرايء كرده با من جنك مرداني كرد
وهزيمت يافت

وروزي كه از روي اختيار بمن التجا
آورد وزانو زد پايه قدر ومرتبه ويرا بلند ساختم ومشمول
عنايت خود كردانيدم وچندان عنايت كردم كه انچه
در خاطر داشت فراموش كرد وويرا در هر مجلس
آفرين ورحمت باد ميكفتم

چون مردي بود مردانه در دولت من
كارهاء مردانه نمايان كرد ومارا ممنون ساخت ودر
جنك ازربايجان كه با قرا يوسف مقابله اتفاق افتاد
وقتي كه سپاه من مضطرب شده بودند وي سري از
سرهاي سران لشكر قرا يوسف را بر سر نيزه كرده بلند
ساخت وسر قرا يوسف نام نهاد ودر لشكر در داد كه
قرا يوسف كشته شده ولشكررا دل داد وبر قلب فوج
قرا يوسف هجوم آورد وقرا يوسف را هزيمت داد ومن
فتح قرا يوسف را بنام وي نوشتم وبر مراتبش افزودم

تزك

THUS alſo Munguli Booghau, in the war of Bullukh, advanced with an army againſt me; and before the engagement commenced, I ſent propoſals unto him, and endeavoured to draw him over to my ſide. But he forgot not his duty to Tughulluk Timour Khaun; and he formed his troops in order of battle, and he charged my forces with undaunted reſolution, and he was defeated.

AND when he afterwards voluntarily came unto me, and kneeled to my authority, I raiſed him to an exalted ſtation, and I included him in the number of my moſt favoured ſervants; and on all occaſions I praiſed and applauded his conduct. And ſuch were the favours which I conferred upon him, that if any reſentment remained in his heart, it was totally obliterated.

AS he was a bold and intrepid warrior, he ſignalized himſelf in my ſervice, and conferred obligations upon me. And in the war of Azzurbauejaun, when I encountered Kurrau Euſoof, in the moment that my troops were diſcouraged and thrown into confuſion, he placed upon the point of his ſpear the head of an hoſtile commander; and he named it the head of Kurrau Euſoof, and called aloud to my forces, that Kurrau Euſoof was ſlain; and he gave courage to my ſoldiers. And he ruſhed on the centre of Kurrau Euſoof's line, and drove him from the field. And this victory over Kurrau Euſoof I imputed to Munguli Booghau; and I exalted him to a ſuperior rank.

تـزک تـربـیـت کردن امرا ووزرا وسپاه
ورعیت بانعام وجلدو*

امر کردم که هر امیري که ملکي را مسخر کرداند
یا لشکري را شکست دهد ویرا بسه چیز امتیاز دهند
بخطاب وطوغ ونقاره وویرا بهادر لقب کنند وشریک
دولت وسلطنت دانند ودر مجلس کنکاش داخل
سازند وولایت سرحد بوي حواله نمایند وامرا را تابـع
وي کردانند   وهر امیري که توره را بشکنند یا امیر
زاده را شکست دهد یـا خاني را منهزم اورا بهمان
روش بـنـوازنـد

چـنـانچـه امیر ایکو تیمور را که بر
اروس خان تعین نمودم وویـرا شکست داد بـوي
تومان وطوغ وعلم ونقاره دادم وویـرا شـریـک دولت
خود ساختم ووزیر ومشیر خود کردانیدم ودر کنکاش
خود داخل کردانیده سرحد ارزاني داشـتم وامرا را
بوي تابع کردانیدم

وحاسدان در حق وي سخنان کفـتند
که الوس اورس خان را غارت کرده واموال واسباب را

† A kind of kettle-drum.

خود

REGULATIONS FOR ENCOURAGING MY AMEERS, AND MY VIZZEERS, AND MY SOLDIERS, AND MY SUBJECTS, BY REWARDS AND BY HONOURS.

I ordained that every Ameer who ſhould reduce a kingdom, or defeat an army, ſhould be exalted by three things, by a title of honour, by the ſtandard, and by the Niccaureh; † and that he ſhould be dignified with the appellation of Bahaudur; ‡ and that he ſhould be conſidered as the aſſociate of the royal power and dignity; and that he ſhould be admitted a member of my imperial council; and that the government of a frontier province ſhould be conferred upon him; and that Ameers ſhould be placed under his command. I alſo ordained that every Ameer who defeated a prince, or the ſon of a prince, or a Khaun, ſhould be exalted after the ſame manner.

THUS I rewarded Ameer Eekoo Timour; whom I had appointed to reduce Auroos Khaun. He conquered that prince; and I conferred upon him a Toumaun, || the ſtandard, the military enſign, and the Niccaureh; I made him the aſſociate of my fortune; and I appointed him my Vizzeer and my adviſer; and I gave him a place in my imperial council; and I conferred upon him the government of a frontier province; and I placed Ameers under his command.

AND the envious uttered inſinuations againſt him, that he had plundered the hord of Auroos Khaun, and that he had taken the ſpoils to himſelf.

‡ The Brave.

|| The command of 10,000 men.

خود متصرف شده وازين سخنان مزاج مرا از وي منحرف ساختند ليكن قصه بهرام جوبين كه بمسامع من رسيده بود بتجربه برداشته بودم

كه چون خاقان سيصد هزار ترك خونخوار بر هرمز بن نوشروان لشكر كشيد ووي بهرام جوبين را كه وزير ومشير وسپه سالار نوشروان بود با سيصد بيست هزار مرد ايراني رو بر رو خاقان فرستاد ووي در مقابله خاقان در آمد وسه شبان روز در قتال وجدال بود تا آنكه خاقانرا شكست داد وحقيقت را بهرمز عرضه داشت نمود وغنايمي كه بدست آورده بود بخدمت هرمز فرستاد

وحاسدان وغمازان كه در مجلس هرمز راه سخن داشتند غمازي نموده كفتند كه بهرام مبلغهاي كلي در ميان نكاهداشت وشمشير وكلاه مرصع وموزه مكلل به جواهر قيمتي خاقان را خود متصرف شده

وهرمز از خام طمعي كار وخدمت بهرام را پوشيده داشت وسخن اهل غرض وارباب افترا را راست دانست وويرا خاين وكنه كار ساخت واز براي وي معجري زنان وطوق وزنجير فرستاد

ويهرام

And my affections were turned aside from Eekoo Timour by their insinuations: but I had heard the history of Behraum Joubeen, and from thence I had acquired experience.

For when the Khaukaun advanced against Hurmuz, the son of Nousharevaun, with an army of three hundred thousand sanguinary Toorks; that prince sent forth Behraum Joubeen (who had been the minister, and the counsellor, and the general of his father) with three hundred and twenty thousand Persians to oppose him. And he engaged that prince; and for three days, and for three nights, the slaughter continued with great fury; till at length he defeated the Khaukaun, and dispatched intelligence of his victory to Hurmuz: and he also sent unto him the spoils which he had taken.

And the envious and the slanderous, who influenced the councils of Hurmuz, forged accusations against him, saying, "Behraum hath secreted the treasures of the enemy; and he hath seized to himself the sword, and the crown, and the buskins of the Khaukaun (ornamented and adorned with jewels of price)."

And Hurmuz, from a mean and contemptible avarice, forgot the services of Behraum; and he credited the accusations of the slanderous and self-interested, and pronounced him a traitor and a criminal; and, *in token of his anger and contempt*, sent a chain unto him, and a collar, and the veil of a woman.

And

وبهرام طوق در کردن وزنجیر در پاء کرده
لباس زنان پوشید وامرا وسران سپاه را طلب نموده
دربار عام داد وچون سرداران وسایر سپاه این حال
مشاهده نمودند هرمز را مطعون داشته دل خودهارا از
اخلاص هرمز برداشتند
وباتفاق بهرام جوبین بدرگاه هرمز آمده
وپرا از سلطنت خلع نمودند وخسرو پرویزرا بر تخت
سلطنت مملکت عجم نشانیدند

چون این تجربه برداشته بودم بجهت
این که مطعون سپاه نکردم امیر ایکو تیمورا طلب
داشته مجلس آراستم وبار عام دادم واموال واشیایی
که از الوس اروس خان غنیمت شده بود همه را جمع
آورده بامیر ایکو تیمور ودیکر بهادران وسپاهیاني که
همراه وي شمشیرها زده بودند انعام فرمودم

وامر نمودم که هر امیري که در هنکام
جنك خودرا نکاهدارد وفوج مقابل خودرا بشکنند در
مرتبه اش بیفزایند

چنانچه

AND Behraum Joubeen placed the collar on his neck, and on his feet he faſtened the chain, and he cloathed himſelf in the female attire. And he called the Ameers and the chiefs of the ſoldiers together, and, thus habited, he gave public audience to his people. And when the chiefs and the forces beheld the ſituation of Behraum, they uttered revilings againſt their prince, and they turned their hearts from their duty to Hurmuz.

AND under the banners of Behraum Joubeen, they proceeded to the palace of the King; and they deprived him of his regal authority; and they ſeated Khiſſuro Purvaze upon the throne of the Perſian empire.

HAVING acquired this experience, that I might not draw upon me the revilings of my people, I ordered Eekoo Timour to appear before me; and I ſeated myſelf on my throne in the midſt of my chiefs; and I gave admiſſion to the people at large. And I commanded the wealth and the effects which had been taken from the tribe of Auroos Khaun to be brought forth; and I conferred the whole of the ſpoils on Ameer Eekoo Timour, and on the warriors and the ſoldiers who had fought under his command.

AND I ordained that every Ameer who acted with firmneſs in the day of battle, and defeated the enemy oppoſed unto him, ſhould be promoted to a ſuperior ſtation.

THUS,

چنانچه تابان بهادر خودرا در جنگ
توقتمش خان بعلمدار رسانید وعلم ویرا نگون ساخت
وزخمها برداشت مدعیان وحاسدان وي خواستند که
کار ویرا بپوشند از انصاف من نگنجید که از
کار وي چشم پوشم وبوي امارت دادم وتربیت کردم
وعلم بوي ارزانی داشتم

وامر نمودم که چون یکي از اون باشیان
ویوز باشیان ومینگ باشیان فوج شکني نماید در
جلدوي* اون باشي حکومت شهري بدهند ودر جلدوي
یوز باشي حکومت مملکتي ارزاني دارند
چنانچه برلاس بهادر که یوز باشي
بود در جنگ توقتمش خان به غنیم خود رو بر رو
شد وفوج غنیم را شکست داد حکومت مملکت حصار
شادمان را بوي مقرر داشتم
وامر نمودم که چون مینگ باشي
فوج غنیم خود را شکست دهد ویرا والي مملکت
گردانند چنانچه محمد ازاد در جنگ کتور جماعه
سیاه پوشانرا که برهان اغلان را هزیمت داده بودند
شکست

THUS, in an engagement with Touktummish Khaun, Taubaun Bahaudur penetrated to the standard-bearer of that prince, and inverted the standard; and he was wounded in many places. And his enemies and the enviers of his renown sought to bury his valour in oblivion: but it was not consistent with my justice that I should shut my eyes to the merits of Taubaun. And I exalted him to a government; and I received him into my favour; and I conferred upon him the standard of honour.

AND I ordained, if an Ounbaushee, or an Euzbaushee, or a Mingbaushee Ameer should vanquish the forces of an enemy; that in reward to an Ounbaushee the government of a city should be given; and that the reward of an Euzbaushee should be the command of a province.

THUS, to Burlaus Bahaudur, who was an Euzbaushee, and who in the war with Touktummish Khaun engaged his enemy and defeated the army of the foe, I gave the command of the province of Hissaur Shaudumaun.

AND I ordained, when a Mingbaushee defeated the forces of his antagonist, that he should be appointed the lord of a principality. Thus, when Mahummud Auzaud, in the war of Kuttour, vanquished the Seah poshaun, † who had defeated Burhaun Aghlaun, I

† *Wearers of black*; so named from the colour of their habits. They inhabited the mountains south of Buddukhshaun.

شكست داده بود ويرا والي مملكت قندز وكولاب
گردانيدم

وامر نمودم كه هريك از امرا كه
مملكتي را مسخر گردانيده از تصرف غنيم بر آورد
آن مملكت را تا سه سال بانعام وي مقرر دارند

وامر كردم كه بهادري كه شمشير زند
كلنك* يا اتاقه* مرصع وكمر وشمشير واسپ بجلدوي
وي ارزاني دارند وبمرتبه اون باشي امتياز دهند تا
آنكه در شمشير دويم وسيوم بمرتبه يوز باشي ومينك
باشي برسد

تزوك عطاي طبل وعلم

امر نمودم كه بهريك از امراي دوازدهگانه
يك علم ونقاره بدهند وباميرالامرا علم ونقاره
وتومان طوغ وچر طوغ ارزاني دارند
ومينك باشي را طوغي ونغيري بدهند
ويوز باشي واون باشي را طبل بدهند وبه امراي

† These words are Mogul, and their significations unknown.
‡ A belt, or girdle.
‖ The Toumaun Toghe and Cher Toghe are also a sort of standards or spears,

اويماق

appointed him to the dominion of the principality of Kunduz and Goulaub. Book II.

AND I ordained, whoever of my Ameers ſubdued and wreſted a kingdom from the hands of the enemy, that for the ſpace of three years the vicegerency of that kingdom ſhould be conferred upon him as a reward.

AND I commanded that the ſelect ſoldier who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in battle, ſhould be rewarded with a Kullung, † or embroidered Autaukeh, † with a horſe, and with a ſword, and with a Kummur; ‡ and that he ſhould be raiſed to the rank of an Ounbauſhee: ſo that for the ſecond, and the third atchievement he might riſe to the ſtations of Euzbauſhee, and of Mingbauſhee.

REGULATIONS FOR CONFERRING THE HONOURS OF THE NICCAUREH AND THE STANDARD.

I ordained that one ſtandard, and one Niccaureh ſhould be conferred on each of the twelve ſelect Ameers; and that the ſtandard, and the Niccaureh, and the Toumaun Toghe, and the Cher Toghe, || ſhould be granted to the Ameer ul Omrau:

AND that a Toghe, and a Nuſſeer § ſhould be allowed to the Mingbauſhee Ameer, and a drum to the Euzbauſhee and Ounbauſhee Ameers; and that to the

ſpears, with certain figures on the ſummit, marking the rank and dignity of thoſe to whom they belong.

§ A ſort of trumpet.

 Ouyemauk

اویماق یرغوي* ارزاني دارند وبچهار بیکار بیکي هریک علم ونقاره وچر طوغ ویرغوي بدهند

وهریک از امرا که فوج شکني نمایند یا ملکي مسخر سازند اگر امیر اول باشد امیر دویم سازند واگر امیر دویم باشد بمرتبه امیر سیوم رسانند واگر امیر سیوم باشد بمرتبه امیر چهارم رسانند همچنین تا یازدهم که اگر امیر یازدهم باشد امیر دوازدهم گردانند وعلم وطوغ ونقاره بدهند

چنانچه بامیر اول یک طوغ وبامیر دوم دو وسیوم سه وبامیر چهارم چهار طوغ ونقاره بدهند تا آنکه خودرا بمرتبه تومان طوغ وچر طوغ رسانند

تزوک سامان وسر انجام سپاه

امر نمودم که سایر سپاه در یساقها هژده نفر یک خیمه بردارند وهریک نفر دو

Ouyemauk Ameers † an Eurghee ‡ ſhould be granted; and that to each of the four Beglerbegs a ſtandard, and a Niccaureh, and a Cher Toghe, and an Eurghee ſhould be allowed.

AND I ordained that every Ameer who vanquiſhed an army, or who conquered a country, if he were a firſt Ameer, that he ſhould be exalted to the rank of ſecond Ameer; and if he were a ſecond Ameer, that he ſhould be raiſed to the rank of third Ameer; and if he were a third Ameer, that he ſhould be exalted to the dignity of fourth Ameer: and thus up to the eleventh Ameer. For if he were eleventh Ameer, I commanded that he ſhould be appointed twelfth Ameer; and that the ſtandard, and the Toghe and the Niccaureh ſhould be conferred upon him.

THUS I ordained that one Toghe ſhould be allowed to the firſt Ameer, and two to the ſecono, and three to the third, and to the fourth Ameer four Toghes, and the Niccaureh: that by their valour and their conduct they might acquire to themſelves the dignity of the Toumaun Toghe and the Cher Toghe.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE ARMS AND THE NECESSARIES OF THE SOLDIERS.

FOR the private ſoldiers I ordained, that on an expedition every eighteen men ſhould take one

† Chiefs of tribes. ‡ *Eurghee* is Mogul, and the particular ſignification unknown; but it evidently means ſome mark of diſtinction.

tent;

دو اسپ وکماني وترکشي وشمشيري واره ودرفشي وچوال وچوال دوزي وتبرتيشه رده سوزن ويک چرم پست بگيرن

وبهادرانيکه هر پنج نفر يک خيمه بردارند وهريک نفر جوشني وخودي وشمشيري وترکشي وکماني واسپان خودرا موافق تزوک همراه بگيرند

واون باشيان هريک خيمه وزرهي وشمشيري وترکشي وکماني وپنج سر اسپ با خود داشته باشد

ويوز باشيان هريک خيمه وده سر اسپ واسلحه از شمشير وترکش وکمان وگرز وکاسکن وزره وبکتر متعدد بردارد

ومينک باشيان هريک خيمه وسايباني وسلاح از زره وجوشن وخود ونيزه وشمشير وترکش وتبر هرچه قدر تواند بردارد

امير اول خيمه واتاقي ويک جفت سايبان بردارد واز اسلحه فراخور امارت خود آن مقدار برد که تواند بديکران مدد نمايد

وهمچنين

tent; and that each man ſhould be ſupplied with two horſes, and with a bow, and with a quiver of arrows, and with a ſword, and with a ſaw, and with an axe, and with an awl, and with thread, and with ten needles, and with a leathern knapſack;

AND for the ſelect warriors, that every five men ſhould have one tent; and that each man ſhould take with him a ſkull-cap, and a breaſt-plate, and a ſword, and a bow, and a quiver of arrows, and his horſes agreeably to the regulations;

AND that each of the Ounbauſhees ſhould have with him one tent, and a coat of mail, and a ſword, and a bow, and a quiver, and five horſes;

AND that every Euzbauſhee ſhould have one tent, and ten horſes, and his arms; ſuch as the ſword, and the bow, and the quiver, and the mace, and the club, and the coat of mail, and the breaſt-plate;

AND that each of the Mingbauſhees ſhould have a tent, and a Sauehbaun; † and that of arms and of armour (the coat of mail, and the breaſt-plate, and the helmet, and lances, and the ſword, and quivers, and arrows) he ſhould carry with him as much as he were able;

AND that the firſt Ameer ſhould carry with him a tent, an Autauk, and two Sauehbauns; and correſponding with his rank, ſuch a quantity of arms and of armour, as might enable him to ſupply the deficiencies of others;

† A ſort of upper roof for the tent, which being elevated two or three feet above it, and projecting on all ſides beyond it, defends the owner from the heat of the ſun.

AND

وهمچنين امير دويم وسيوم وچهارم تا
امير الامرا فراخور مرتبه خود سامان خودرا از خيمه
واتاق وسايبان واسپان سر انجام نمايند
امير اول يكصد وده اسپ وامير دوم
يكصد بيست اسپ وامير سيوم يكصد وسي اسپ
وچهارم صد وچهل سر اسپ تا امير الامرا كه از سه
صد سر اسپ كمتر همراه نگيرد

وپيادكان هريك شمشيري وكمان وتير
دسته بردارند وانچه توانند كم وزياده همراه بگيرند
اما در وقت جنك كمتر از انچه تزوك بسته شده
با ايشان نباشد

تزوك پاتش حضور ومجالس بزم ورزم

امر نمودم كه در مجلس بزم سپاهان
وامرا ومينك باشيان ويوز باشيان واون باشيان بي
كلاه وموزه وسر موزه وجامه كريبان دار وبكده
وشمشير بديوانخانه حاضر نيايند

ودوازده

AND thus alſo, that the ſecond, and the third, and the fourth Ameer, and from him up to the Ameer ul Omrau, each according to his rank and his ſtation, ſhould ſupply and take with him his neceſſaries, his tent, and his Autauk, and his Sauehbauns, and his horſes; Book II.

THE firſt Ameer a hundred and ten horſes, and the ſecond Ameer a hundred and twenty horſes, and the third Ameer a hundred and thirty horſes, and the fourth Ameer a hundred and forty horſes; and thus up to the Ameer ul Omrau, who was not to take with him a leſs number than three hundred horſes.

AND I ordained that every one of the foot-ſoldiers ſhould take with him a ſword, and a bow, and a bundle of arrows; and that he ſhould carry with him as much as he was able, let it be more or let it be leſs; but that in times of war he ſhould not have leſs than was eſtabliſhed.

REGULATIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUARDS, AND RULES TO BE OBSERVED IN THE PRESENCE, IN PEACE AND IN WAR.

I ordained that in times of peace the ſoldiers, the Ameers, the Mingbauſhees, the Euzbauſhees, and the Ounbauſhees ſhould not appear in the Imperial Deewaun without their Koollauh, † their Mozeh, ‡ and Surmozeh, ‖ their Bukdeh, their Jaumeh § having the collar, and their ſwords.

† Cap. ‡ Boots. ‖ A ſort of leathern clog covering the foot of the boot. § Upper coat.

ودوازده هزار قلچي* شمشير بردار با يراق
وصلاح در يمين ويسار وپس وپيش ديوانخانه در
كشك* حاضر باشند بدين ترتيب كه هر شب هزار
كس از ايشان در پاتش حاضر باشند وبر سر صد قلچي
يوز باشي مقرر نمايند ويوقي* بوي بدهند

وامر نمودم كه در معارك رزم هريك
از امراء دوازدهكانه ومينك باشيان ويوز باشيان
واون باشيان در لشكر ويساقها با دوازده هزار سوار
صلاح دار يك شب ويك روز در پاتش خانهاي خود
حاضر باشند

واين دوازده هزار سوارا چهار فوج ساخته
فوجي در برانغار وفوجي در جرانغار وفوجي در
پيش اوردو وفوجي در عقب تعين نمايند ونوبت
بنوبت بمقدار نيم فرسنك از اوردو بر آمده بنشينند
وهريك از افواج چهاركانه هراولي از
براي خود قرار دهد وهراول قراولي را تعين نموده
سر

AND I ordered that twelve thouſand Kulchee, † men of the ſword, compleatly armed, ſhould be cantoned in the palace; to the right and to the left, and in the front and in the rear of the Imperial Deewaun: thus, that one thouſand of thoſe twelve thouſand ſhould be every night upon guard; and that over each hundred Kulchee an Euzbauſhee ſhould be appointed; and that an Eokee ‡ ſhould be given unto him.

AND I ordained that in times of war and in the field, each of the twelve ſelect Ameers, alſo the Mingbauſhees, and the Euzbauſhees and the Ounbauſhees ſhould, with twelve thouſand horſemen compleatly armed, for the ſpace of one day and one night, when marching, and when halting, be ready upon guard.

AND I commanded that thoſe twelve thouſand horſe ſhould be divided into four diviſions, and that one diviſion ſhould be poſted to the right of the camp, and one to the left thereof; and one in the front, and one in the rear; and that every watch they ſhould march out to the diſtance of half a Furſung from the camp, and there lie upon their arms;

AND that each of thoſe four diviſions ſhould appoint an advanced guard; and that each of the advanced guards ſhould detach ſcouts in their front; and

† A Mogul word, ſuppoſed to mean Guards.

‡ Mogul — A watch-word.

سر رشته احتیاط وهوشیاري از دست نداده خبرها رسانند

وامر نمودم که هر طرف از اطراف لشکر واردو کوتوالي مقرر باشد که حراست ونکاهباني اردو بدیشان متعلق باشد ورسوم از اهالي بازار میکرفته باشند واکر چیزي از اهل اردو بدزدي رود جواب کویند

وامر نمودم که چهار فوج چیقونچي تعین نمایند که تا چهار فرسنکي لشکر را بقید ضبط در آوردند واکر کسي را مقتول ومجروح به بیند از عهده بر آیند واکر مال کسي بدزدي رود جواب کویند

وامر نمودم که سیوم حصه لشکر خدمت نکاهداشت سرحدها مقرر باشند ودو حصه در خدمت رکاب خاص حاضر باشند

تزوک خدمت وزرا

امر نمودم که چهار وزیر در دیوان حضور مقرر باشند

اول

that they ſhould perform their duty with care and circumſpection, and communicate intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Book II.

AND I ordained that to each of the four quarters of the camp a Kootwaul ſhould be appointed; and that the police thereof ſhould appertain unto him: that he ſhould collect the cuſtoms from the traders in the markets; and that if any thing ſhould be ſtolen from the camp, he ſhould make it good.

AND I ordered alſo that four diviſions of Chupkunchee ſhould be appointed; that they ſhould ſcour, and make themſelves maſters of, the circumjacent country to the diſtance of four Furſung from the camp; and, if any one was murdered or wounded within that diſtance, that they ſhould be accountable; and that they alſo ſhould be anſwerable for whatever was ſtolen.

AND I ordained that one third of the imperial forces ſhould be appointed to guard the frontiers of my dominions; and that the remaining two thirds ſhould attend my commands in the preſence.

REGULATION OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF VIZZEERS.

I ordained that four Vizzeers ſhould be appointed to attend in the Imperial Deewaun.

FIRST,

اول وزیر مملکت ورعیت این وزیر مهمات
ومعاملات مملکت واحوال رعیت وحاصل وواصل وفاصل
ولایات ومداخل ومخارج واباداني ومعموري ونسق
ملک بعرض رساند

دوم وزیر سپاه که علوفه سپاهیان
وتنخواه ایشان را بعرض رساند واز احوال ایشان
آگاه باشد که پریشان نشوند وعرض احوال سپاه را
معروض دارد

سیوم وزیر سایر وهواي که اموال غایبي
وفوتي وفراري وزکوت وباج اموال آیندگان
وروندگان ومواشي ومراعي وآبخور وعلفچرا که
انچه ازین مداخل جمع آید ضبط نموده بطریق
امانت نگاهدارد وانچه اموال غایب واموات باشد
بوارثان ایشان برساند

چهارم

FIRST. THE VIZZEER OF THE COUNTRY AND THE SUBJECT. It was the bufinefs of this Vizzeer to fuperintend, and communicate unto me, the concerns and the affairs of the country; and the ftate and the fituation of the hufbandman, of the produce, and of the duties received, and of the deficiencies in the various provinces, of the merchandize brought in and fent out of the land, of the cultivation, and the population, and the police of all my dominions. Book II.

SECONDLY. THE VIZZEER OF THE ARMIES. It was his duty to lay before me the accompts of the wages due, and the affignments granted to the troops; and to inform himfelf of the fituations and circumftances of the foldiers (that they might not be diftreffed or oppreffed) and to communicate unto me the ftate and the ftrength of my armies.

THIRDLY. THE VIZZEER OF THE SAUIR AND HUVAUEE. It was his duty to take poffeffion of the effects of abfentees, † and of the defunct, and of thofe who had fled their country; and to receive religious donations, and the duties on the merchandize of comers and of goers, and the taxes on the cattle, and on the pafture lands, and on the refervoirs of water. And having taken poffeffion of the produce, he was to retain it as a depofit in his hands, and to reftore the effects of the abfentees and the defunct to their lawful heirs.

† i.e. Such people as had difappeared fuddenly, and whofe abfence could not be accounted for.

FOURTHLY.

چهارم وزیر کارخانها سلطنت که از
مداخل ومخارج وجمیع خرج خزانه ودواب آگاه باشد

وامر نمودم که سه وزیر بر سرحدها
ومملکت خالصه تعین نمایند که سر رشته معاملات
مالی وولایات نگاهدارند

واین هفت وزیر تابع دیوان بیگی باشند
که مهمات ومعاملات امور مالی را باتفاق دیوان بیگی
انجام داده بعرض رسانند

وامر نمودم که عرض بیگی مقرر باشد
که عرض احوال سپاه ورعیت وداد خواهان وخرابی
ومعموری ملک وانچه از مهمات فیصل یابد وبانجام
رسد بعرض رساند

وامر نمودم که صدر الصدور سیورغالات *
سادات وارباب وظایف واوقاف بعرض میرسانیده
باشد وقاضی اسلام امور شریعه وقاضی احداث امور
عرفی را معروض دارد

وامر

FOURTHLY. THE VIZZEER OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD. It was his duty to ſuperintend the receipts, and the diſburſements, and the general expences. Book II.

AND I ordained that three Vizzeers ſhould be appointed over the frontiers and the domains appertaining unto the crown, and to regulate the concerns thereof.

AND I ordained that theſe ſeven Vizzeers ſhould be ſubject to the controul of the Deewaunbeghee: and that under his inſpection they ſhould regulate and determine the affairs and the concerns of the revenues, and lay them before me.

I commanded that an Erzbeghee † ſhould be appointed; and that he ſhould communicate to me the ſtate of the ſoldiers, and of the ſubjects, and the complaints of my people, and the increaſe or decreaſe of population and cultivation in my dominions, and the concluſion and determination of every momentous concern.

AND I ordained that the Suddur ul Suddoor ſhould lay before me the Sawurghaulaut ‡ of the deſcendants of the prophet, of the ſtipendiaries, and penſioners; and that the eccleſiaſtical judge ſhould communicate unto me all eccleſiaſtical concerns; and that the civil affairs ſhould be laid before me by the civil judge.

† A preſenter of petitions.

‡ *Sawurghaul* is a Mogul word, and ſignifies a grant from the crown of lands or revenues to be enjoyed for ever by the poſſeſſor and his heirs.

وامر نمودم که در محفل خاص امور ملکي وبند وبست مملکت وتغير وتبديل وتعين سپاه وامرا ومشاورت وتدبيرات بعرض رسانند

وامر نمودم که منشي محرم که صاحب اسرار تواند بود حاضر باشد که بقلم راستي مخفيات ومشورات را مي نوشته باشد

وامر نمودم که مجلس نويسان تعين نمايند که نوبت بنوبت در ديوان مجلس حاضر بوده وانچه از مهمات ومعاملات فيصل يابد ومشخص شود صورت واقعه را نوشته نگاهدارند وانچه بعرض رسد ومن حکم کنم وانچه در مجلس مذکور شود از امور کلي وجزيء همکي را بقلم در آورده داخل وقايع من نمايند

وامر نمودم که بهر کارخانه از کارخانهاي سلطنت نويسنده تعين نمايند که اخراجات ومداخل ومخارج يوميه را مي نوشته باشد

تزوک ايالت امراي الوسات وقشونات وتومانات

امر

Book II.

AND I commanded that all concerns appertaining to the imperial dignity, the regulations of my dominions, and the difmiffion, and the changing, and the appointing of armies and of officers, and all confultations and plans of operation fhould be communicated unto me in my felect council.

AND I commanded that a confidential fecretary (on whofe fecrecy dependence might be placed) fhould at all times attend, and minute down with the pen of integrity the fecret tranfactions and deliberations.

AND I ordained that writers of the general council fhould be appointed, and that they fhould relieve each other in the hall of the council, and that they fhould write down and preferve full and exact accounts of every matter and of every bufinefs which fhould be fettled and determined therein: and that all reprefentations made unto me, and all orders iffued by me, and every matter which was debated in council, fhould be written and inferted in the narrative of my tranfactions.

AND I ordained that to every department of the departments of government an accomptant fhould be appointed; and that he fhould keep a journal of the daily expences, and of the receipts and difburfements.

REGULATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE AMEERS OF AULOOSAUT, AND OF KUSHOONAUT, AND OF TOUMAUNAUT.

امر نمودم که امیر هر الوسي وتوماني در هنکام یساق از هر خرکاي* یک سوار واز دواله چوق* یک سوار واز سر خانه یک سوار مقرر کردانند که در سفر همراه بکیرند وآبخور وعلق خور هر سر زمیني که در آن اقامت داشته باشد در وجه علوفه ایشان مقرر باشد بامرا الوسات یرغوي ویرقي* بدهند وایشان فراخور الوسات وتومانات خودها سوار در یساقها حاضر آورنـــد

وامر نمودم که از جملهٔ چهل اویماق که بحـیـط ضبط در آمده دوازده اویـماق را تمغـا نمایند که از جمله نوکران خاصه باشند بــرلاس ترخان ارغون جلایر تولکچي دولدي مغول سلدوز طوغاي قبچاق ارلات تاتار

واز الوس برلاس چهار کس را امــیــر الامرا ساختم امیر خداداد که بوي مملکت بدخشان ارزاني

I ordained that the Ameer of every Auloos, of every Kushoon, and of every Toumaun should, when called to fulfil his military service in times of war, select and bring with him to the field from each Khirgauh * one horseman, from each Duvvauleh Chouk † one horseman, and from each Khauneh † one horseman; and that the water and the forage on the lands where they should be stationed should be allowed unto them for their subsistence; and that an Eurghee and a Biruck ‡ should be granted to the Ameer of every Auloos; and that those Ameers should attend in the field with forces proportioned to the strength and the numbers of their Auloosaut and their Toumaunaut. Book II.

AND I ordained that to twelve of the forty Ouyemauk which had submitted to my government, Tumghau || should be given (that they might be classed amongst my select and superior servants:) to the Ouyemauks of Burlaus, Turkhaun, Aurghoon, Jullauir, Toulkchee, Douldee, Moghool, Suldoze, Toughauee, Kypchauk, Aurlaut, and Tautaur.

AND from among the tribe of Burlaus I selected four Ameer ul Omraus, Ameer Khodaudaud (unto whom I gave the kingdom of Buddukhshaun) and

* Khirgauh is Mogul, and signifies a Tatar tent or hut.

† Duvvauleh Chouk is Mogul, and the meaning unknown. Khauneh signifies a house.

‡ Mogul, a little flag.

|| i. e. Pay.

ارزاني داشتم وامير جاكو وامير ايكو تيمور وامير سليمان شاه كه بايشان هم سرحد ومملكت ارزاني داشتم وصد نفر ديكر را از الوس برلاس مينك باشي ساختم وامير جلال الدين برلاس را امير دهم كردانيدم وامير ابو سعيد را امير نهم كردم

واز الوس ترخان امير بايزيد را امير هفتم ساختم وبيست نفر از ايشان را يوز باشي نمودم

واز الوس ارغون تاش خواجه را امير هشتم كردم وبيست نفررا مينك باشي ويوز باشي واون باشي مقرر نمودم

واز الوس جلاير توك تيمور وشير بهرام را امير هشتم ونهم ساختم وبيست نفررا يوز باشي واون باشي كردم

واز الوس تولكچي الجايتو بردي را امارت دادم

واز الوس دولدي تابان بهادر وسان بهادر را امارت دادم

واز الوس مغول تيمور خواجه اغلان را بمرتبه امارت رسانيدم

واز الوس سلدوز يلچي بهادررا امارت دادم

واز

Ameer Jaukoo, and Ameer Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Soolamaun Shaah; on whom I alſo conferred the governments of frontier kingdoms. And a hundred others of the tribe of Burlaus I appointed Mingbauſhees. And I exalted Ameer Jullaul u deen Burlaus to the dignity of tenth Ameer; and Ameer Abou Saeed of the ſame tribe to the rank of ninth Ameer. Book II.

AND from amongſt the tribe of Turkhaun I raiſed Ameer Bauezzeed to the ſtation of ſeventh Ameer; and I appointed twenty perſons of the ſame tribe Euzbauſhees.

AND of the tribe of Aurghoon I raiſed Tauſh Khaujeh to the dignity of eighth Ameer; and I gave the appointments of Mingbauſhees, and of Euzbauſhees, and of Ounbauſhees, to twenty people of that tribe.

AND of the tribe of Jullauir I exalted Touk Timour and Share Behraum to the ranks of eighth and of ninth Ameer; and twenty of the ſame tribe I appointed Euzbauſhees and Ounbauſhees.

AND of the tribe of Toulkchee I conferred the dignity of Ameer on Aijauyetoo Burdi.

AND of the tribe of Douldee, I raiſed Taubaun Bahaudur and Saun Bahaudur to the dignity of Ameers.

AND of the tribe of Moghool I exalted Khaujeh Aghlaun to the rank of Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Suldoze I appointed Elchee Bahaudur to the ſtation of Ameer.

AND

واز الوس طوغاي علي درويشرا امارت دادم
واز الوس قپچاق امير سار بوغا را امير ساختم
واز الوس ارلات امير مويد را كه خواهر من در حباله زوجيت وي بود امير الامرا ساختم وسلاچي بهادررا امير كردانيدم
واز الوس تاتار كونك خان را امارت دادم وبيست وهشت اويماق ديكر كه به تمغا نرسيدند ايشانرا امير الوس ساختم كه در وقت يساق در چار وپلچار حاضر شوند وموافق تزوك سواران خودرا حاضر سازند

تزوك سلوك نوكر به صاحب ومعاش صاحب بنوكر
كه نوكر راست بداند كه انچه وي از نوكر خود چشم داشت دارد صاحب وي هم از وي همان چشم داشت دارد پس خودرا در خدمت صاحب معاف ندارد وبداند كه اكر صاحبش اول بوي بر سر عنايت بود وآخر بي عنايت شد تقصير ونقصان بر خود نهد نه بر صاحب خود
ونوكر راست است كه با صاحب اخلاص بورزد وباخلاص كار كند

وهر

Book II

AND of the tribe of Toughauee I appoinied Aali Durvaiſh to the ſtation of Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Kipchauk I raiſed Ameer Saur Booghau to the dignity of Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Aurlaut I appointed Ameer Muviud (unto whom one of my ſiſters had been given in marriage) Ameer ul Omrau: and Sullauichee Bahaudur of the ſame tribe I made an Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Tautaur I raiſed Kowvung Khaun to the rank of Ameer; and the remaining twenty eight Ouyemauk, unto whom the Tumghau had not been given, I appointed commanders over their own tribes: that in times of war and of ſervice they might attend in the field, and bring with them their horſemen, agreeably to the regulation.

RULES CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF SERVANTS TOWARDS THEIR PRINCE, AND OF THE PRINCE TOWARDS HIS SERVANTS.

BE it known to every good ſervant, that that which he expecteth from his own dependant, his prince alſo expecteth from him. Let him not therefore be backward in his ſervices; but let him know, that if his maſter be at firſt well-inclined unto him, and afterwards be ill-inclined unto him, he muſt lay the fault and the conſequence to himſelf and not to his maſter.

HE is a good ſervant who attacheth himſelf unto his maſter, and doeth his duty through that attachment.

 ON

وهر نوكري كه بي اخلاص وكينه دار باشد از اثر بي اخلاص وكينه وي البته نكبت بوي روي آورد وليكن دولت ونعمت نوكر باخلاص روز بروز در تزايد باشد

راسخ الاعتقاد نوكري باشد كه از اعراض واعتراض صاحب نرنجد وكينه نورزد وتقصيري كه از صاحبش بوقوع آيد آنرا بخود كيرد آن نوكر لايق تربيت باشد

ونوكري كه نظرش بر لقمه وخرقه باشد البته در وقت كار سستي كند

نوكري كه حق خدمت فراموش كند ودر وقت كار روي كردان شود ديكر رويش را نبايد ديد

ونوكري كه در وقت كار بهانه جويد وهنكام يساق رخصت طلبد ونظر بر پشت پا داشته باشد وكار امروز بفردا حواله نمايد چنانچه بولا وتيمور اغلان بهن كردند ومرا بر سر كار كذاشتند نام اين قسم نوكران نبايد برد وايشان را به پروردكار بايد سپرد

وسلاطين

On the ſervant who is incapable of attachment, and who harboureth reſentment, contempt and ignominy ſhall moſt certainly fall in conſequence of his evil qualities: but the proſperity and the riches of the faithful and affectionate ſervant ſhall be daily increaſing.

He is a good and faithful ſervant who taketh not offence at the ſlights or the reprimands of his prince, who entertaineth not revenge in conſequence thereof; but taketh the faults of his maſter upon himſelf: ſuch a ſervant is worthy of the affection and the kindneſs of his prince.

The ſervant whoſe eye is fixed on the morſels and the fragments † which fall from the table of his lord, will undoubtedly be negligent in the moment of trial.

The ſervant who forgetteth his duty in the hour of action, and turneth his face from the foe of his prince; let the face of that ſervant be ſeen no more.

The ſervant who in the hour of trial ſearcheth after excuſes; and who on the day of enterpriſe demandeth his diſmiſſion, and who keepeth his eye on the means of retreat, and who transfereth till to-morrow the buſineſs of to-day, (thus Boulau and Timour Aghlaun acted towards me, and deſerted me in the hour of danger) let the names of ſuch ſervants be held in contempt; and let them be delivered over to the Almighty.

† i.e. A ſelf-intereſted and avaricious ſervant.

وسلاطین راست که هر نوکري را که
عـزت دهند زود بیعزت نکردانند وبرداشته خودرا نه
اندازند وهرکس را دانسته وشناخته بـاشـد فرامـوش
نکنند

اکر احیانا بیعزت کنند در عزتش دو
بـرابـر افـزوده تلافي نمایند وآن نوکررا باخلاص
واعتـقـاد وي حواله سازند که اکر کینه ونفاق
ورزد بالخـاصیه نکبت بوي روي خـواهد آورد وهـر
نـوکـري که در دل صاحب به نیکي جا کند
روز بـه کـردد

وهـر نوکري که باختیار وغیر اختیار
جدا شود وچون مراجعت نماید ویرا محترم کردانند
که از جداي خود پشیمان شده ومعاودت نموده

وامـر نمودم که هـر نوکري که از
جانب غنیم شمشیر از نیام بر آورده ونمک حلال باشد
اکر این چنین مردي در جنک بدست افـتد یا از
طرف غنیم نا امید شده بیاید وملازمت اختیار کند
ویرا عـزیـز نمایند وبر مراتبش بـیفزایند وویرا وفادار
دانـنـد

چنانچه

It behoveth the prince not ſpeedily to degrade the ſervant whom he hath exalted, not to pull down him whom his own hand hath raiſed up. Let him not neglect thoſe whom he knoweth or remembereth.

And if it ſhould chance that without cauſe he put a good ſervant to ſhame, let him make amends by conferring two-fold honour upon him: and let him refer that ſervant to his own affection and fidelity: for if he harboureth hatred and revenge, according to his evil qualities ignominy ſhall be his reward. But the ſervant who by good conduct acquireth a place in the heart of his prince, ſhall proſper in conſequence thereof.

If a ſervant ſpontaneouſly, or otherwiſe, ſeparate himſelf from his maſter, and if he afterwards turn back unto him, let that ſervant be received with honour: ſince, aſhamed of his deſertion, he returneth again to his prince.

Every ſervant who was faithful to his prince, and who drew his ſword on the ſide of my enemy; if ſuch a man became my priſoner in battle, or if, hopeleſs of reward from the foe, he came in unto me and offered his ſervices, I ordained that he ſhould be received with honour and eſteem; and that his fidelity ſhould be acknowledged and relied on; and that dignities ſuperior to thoſe, which he formerly poſſeſſed, ſhould be conferred upon him.

Thus

چنانچه منکلي بوغا وحيدر اندوخودي
وامير ابو سعيد با شش هزار سوار بر کنار آب بلخ
بمن رو برو شده جنک کردند بعد از آن از تغلقتيمور
خان نا اميد کشته بمن پناه آوردند ايشانرا عزت
داده احترام کردم وولايت حصار شادمان واندجان
وترکستان بديشان دادم

وامر نمودم که هر نوکري که در
نزد غنيم معتبر باشد ودر وقت جنک وکارزار سلسله
دوستي بدشمن صاحب خود بجنباند وحق نمک
وصاحبي ونوکري ونعمت را فراموش کند ودشمن
صاحب خود را خواهد که بر صاحب خود غالب
کرداند اين قسم شخصي را در خدمت راه ندهند روزکار
سزايش را در کنارش خواهد نهاد

وهر نوکري که در وقت کار از صاحب
خود جدا شده بملازمت آيد اعتبار را شايسته نباشد
اما اکر بعد از خدمت بسيار وفاداري از وي ظاهر
شود نکاهدارند واکر در غير وقت کار وبورش آمده
ملازمت اختيار نمايد ويرا کرامي دارند

واکر

THUS Munguli Booghau, and Hydur Andookhodee, and Ameer Aboo Saeed, on the part of Tughulluk Timour Khaun, oppofed and attacked me with fix thoufand horfemen, on the banks of the water of Bullukh. Afterwards, taking offence at the conduct of Tughulluk Timour, they fought protection from me; and I received them with honour and efteem: and I conferred upon them the provinces of Andijaun, and Hyffaur Shaudumaun, and Toorkiftaun.

AND I alfo ordained that the fervant of the foe who was in the confidence of his mafter, and, who in times of war and of fervice, vibrated the chain of friendfhip with the enemy of his prince; and who forgot the facred ties of lord and of fervant, and the fidelity due for the falt and the bread which he had eaten; and who ftrove to make the enemy of his mafter the conqueror of his mafter; I ordained that fuch a wretch fhould never be admitted into my fervice. Time fhall hereafter inflict upon him his reward.

THE fervant who quitteth his mafter in times of trial, and offereth his fervices to another, is not worthy to be admitted: but when by many and long fervices his fidelity fhall be proved, he may then be received into favour. If in times of peace and tranquillity he offereth his fervices, let him be received with kindnefs.

IF

واگر وزیري ونوکري از روي راي وتدبیر با دشمن رابطه آشنایي درست سازد ودرین لباس خواهد که کار صاحب خودرا ساخته کردند ویرا عاقلترین دوستان وچاکران باید دانست ولیکن نوکري که بدشمن بسازد وبا صاحب خود نغاق ورزد این چنین نوکري را به دشمن ارزاني دارند

واگر نوکري شمشیر زند وغنیم را شکست دهد سخن ارباب غرض را در حق وي نشنوند وکار ویرا پوشیده ندارند ویک کار ویرا به ده باز نمایند وبر مرتبه اش بیغزایند تا دیگر نوکرانرا رغبت جان فشاني بهم رسد

وهر فوجي وهر امیري که روي از راه مرافقت وموافقت برگرداند وبه غنیم پیوند ایشانرا در یورت اورن ندهند چنانچه سرداران لشکر کش از من رو گردان شده بامیر حاجي برلاس پیوستند ومن بعد بر ایشان اعتماد نکردم

وهر نوکري را که حاکم ملکي کرداند ووي از روي بیوفاي به غنیم سازش نموده ملک را بدشمن بدهد ویرا از قید حیات بر آورند ونوکر ملکدار بمراتب ارجمند بلند مرتبه کردانند

وهر

If a Vizzeer, or other ſervant, through policy and deſign, form an intimacy with his maſters foe; and endeavour, under the garb of that friendſhip, to promote the intereſt of his prince, let him be eſteemed amongſt the wiſeſt and the beſt of ſervants and of friends. But if a ſervant oppoſe his maſters's intereſt, and intrigue with the enemy, preſent ſuch a ſervant as a gift to the foe.

If a ſervant fight valiantly and defeat his foe, let not the inſinuations of the envious be heard to his prejudice; permit not his glory to be concealed, but let it be exhibited in ten-fold ſplendor; and let him be exalted to a ſuperior ſtation, that other ſervants may be inſpired with a thirſt for glory.

If a body of troops, or an Ameer, deſert their prince, and unite with the enemy, let them not again be admitted into his ſervice. Thus the leaders of the forces of Kuſh turned from me their faces, and united themſelves with Ameer Haujee Burlaus; and after that I confided not in them.

Whatever ſervant, unto whom the government of a kingdom ſhall be truſted, who treacherouſly leagueth with the enemy, and delivereth that kingdom into the hands of the foe; let him be put to death. But let the ſervant, who defendeth and preſerveth a kingdom, be raiſed to a diſtinguiſhed and exalted rank.

وهر اميري كه در وقت تنگ قدم
اخلاص در ميدان مصافي استوار دارد وطريق مرافقت
بجاي آورد ويرا بمنزله برادر شمارند چنانچه وقتي كه
امرا ولشكر خط كش از من رو گردان شدند بغير
از امير جاكوي برلاس هيچكس در نزد من نماند
وهمراهي نكرد من امير جاكورا برادر عزيز دانسته
شريك دولت خود گردانيدم وامير الامرا ساخته
مملكت بلخ وحصار بوي ارزاني داشتم

تزوك سلوك ومعاش با دوست ودشمن
روزي كه مملكت توران را مسخر ساختم
ودر تختگاه سمرقند بر سرير سلطنت جلوس نمودم
بدوست ودشمن يكسان سلوك كردم امراي بدخشان
وبعضي امراي تشونات از ترك وتاجيك كه بمن
بديها كرده وحيلهها برانگيخته وبر من شمشيرها
كشيده بودند واز كردار نا پسنديده خود متوهم
مي بودند چون بمن التجا آوردند چندان احسان
كردم كه شرمنده عنايت واحسان من شدند

وهر كسرا رنجانيده بودم باحسان وانعام
تلافي

LET the Ameer, who in the hour of peril and diſtreſs adhereth to his prince, and ſtandeth firm in the field of ſlaughter, be conſidered as a brother. THUS at the time when the forces of Kuſh deſerted my ſtandard, no one remained with me, or conſented to ſhare my fortunes, except Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus; and I afterwards eſteemed Ameer Jaukoo as a beloved brother; and I admitted him to a participation in my fortunes; and I made him an Ameer ul Omrau; and I conferred upon him the kingdoms of Bullukh and of Hiſſaur.

REGULATIONS FOR MY CONDUCT AND BEHAVIOUR BOTH TO FRIENDS AND TO ENEMIES.

ON the day on which I conquered the kingdom of Tooraun, and mounted the throne of empire in the capital city of Summurkund, I conducted myſelf in the ſame manner towards my enemies and my friends. The Ameers of Buddukhſhaun, and other Ameers of Kuſhoonaut, both Toork and Taucheek, who had done me injuries; and who had practiſed deceits upon me; and who had drawn their ſwords in oppoſition unto me; and who were alarmed by the remembrance of their evil conduct; when they ſubmitted to my authority, I received them with ſuch kindneſs and courteſy, that they bluſhed at my generoſity and goodneſs.

AND to every one, whom I had injured or diſtreſſed, I made compenſation; and I balanced the diſ-

تلافي رنجش وي كردم وبمراتب لايق ايشانرا امتياز بخشيدم

ليكن بر امراي سلدوز وجته نفرين كردم كه كابل شاه چنكيزي را كه بامارت وخاني برداشته بودند وبوي عهد ودوستي وپيمان اخلاص بربستند چون خبر جلوس من بر تخت سلطنت بمسامع ايشان رسيد نقض عهد كرده ويرا بجهت خوش آمد من بقتل رسانيدند

وكساني را كه در مقام شكست من در آمده بر من حسد بردند آن قدر بايشان مروت واحسان كردم كه شرمنده احسان من شده غرق عرق خجالت كشتند

ودوستان چون بمن التجا آوردند چون هميشه برضاي من كاركرده بودند ايشانرا شريك دولت دانسته در عطاي مال واسباب مضايقه نكردم

وبتجربه من رسيده كه دوست صادق آنست كه از دوست نرنجد ودشمن دشمن دوست باشد واكر افتد در دادن جان مضايقه نكند چنانچه بعضي امراي من تا بجان همراهي من كردند ومن هم در هيچ چيز بايشان مضايقه نكردم

وبتجربه

treſſes which he had ſuffered, by kindneſs and by gratuities; and by proper marks of my favour I conferred honour upon him. Book II.

BUT on the Ameers of the tribes of Suldoze and of Jitteh I uttered execrations: for, having exalted Kaubul Shaah of the line of Chungaze to the dignity of Khaun, and ſworn fidelity and friendſhip unto him, when they heard of my exaltation to the throne, they broke their faith and their engagements, and, to flatter and to ſoothe me, put him to death.

AND to thoſe who had envied my fortune, and who had endeavoured to ſubvert my power, I conducted myſelf with ſuch kindneſs and generoſity, that they were confounded at my goodneſs, and ſunk under the ſenſe of their own unworthineſs.

AND my friends who preſented themſelves before me, thoſe who had ever acted in ſubmiſſion to my will, I conſidered as the partners of my fortune: and I regarded not the riches and the wealth which I conferred upon them.

FOR by experience it is known unto me, that he is a firm aſſociate, who taketh not offence at the conduct of his friend; and who is the enemy of the enemy of his friend; and who heſitateth not to hazard his life, when occaſion ſhall require. THUS certain of my Ameers followed my fortunes even to death; nor did I with-hold from them aught which I had.

AND

وبتجربه من رسيد که دشمن عاقل بهتر
از دوست جاهل باشد چنانچه امير حسين نبيره امير
قرغن از دوستان جاهل بود وانچه در دوستی بمن
کرد هيچ دشمن در دشمني نکند

امير خداداد بمن کفت که دشمن را
چون لعل وجواهر نکاهدار وچون بسنک لاخي
برسي چنانش بر سنک زن که اثري از وي نماند

ونيز کفت که چون دشمن پناه آورد
وزانو زند بر وي رحم کن ومروت نما چنانچه من
به توقتمش خان کردم چون بمن پناه آورد مروت
کردم

اکر دشمن مروت واحسان ديده ديکر
باره بر سر دشمني رود ويرا بپروردکار بسپار

ودوست آنست که از دوست نرنجد
واکر برنجد عذر پزير باشد

تزوک اجلاس واورن

امر نمودم که فرزندان ونبابر وخويشان
موافق

AND by experience it was known unto me, that a wife enemy is preferable to a foolifh friend. THUS Ameer Hooffein, the grandfon of Ameer Kurghun, was one of thofe foolifh friends: and the mifchiefs which in his friendfhip he did unto me, were fuch as no enemy would do in the excefs of his enmity.

AMEER Khodaudaud once faid unto me, "Watch thou thy enemy, as thou wouldft guard a ruby "of luftre, or a jewel of high price: but when thou "meeteft with a ftone of Laukh, crufh him thereon un-"til not one particle of him remain."

HE alfo faid, "When an enemy fleeth "unto thee for protection, and kneeleth before thee, "have compaffion upon him, and receive him with kind-"nefs." THUS I acted towards Touktummifh Khaun. When he fled to me for fhelter, I treated him with tendernefs and humanity.

IF an enemy, after tafting of thy generofity and bounty, return again to enmity, deliver him over to the juftice of the Almighty.

HE is a true friend who taketh not offence at the conduct of his friend; or if he doth, is willing to receive his acknowledgements.

REGULATIONS OF PRECEDENCY AND OF ADMISSION TO THE IMPERIAL PRESENCE.

I ordained that my fons, and my grandfons, and my relations, fhould, according to their different

موافق مراتب خود هاله وار صف زده بر دور سریر سلطنت بنشینند

وسادات وقضات وعلما وفضلا ومشایخ واکابر واشراف بر طرف دست راست جلوس نمایند

وامیر الامرا وبیکلر بیکیان وامرا ونونیان وسرداران وامیران الوس وتومانات وقشونات ومینک باشیان ویوز باشیان واون باشیان مطابق مراتب خودها طرف دست چپ جلوس نمایند

وبراي دیوان بیکي ووزرا در مقابل تخت جاي نشستن مقرر کردم وکلانتران وکدخدایان ممالک در عقب وزرا صف زده نشسته باشند

وبهادرانیکه که خطاب بهادري یافته باشند وجوانان شمشیر زن در عقب سریر سلطنت طرف دست راست بنشینند وقراول بیکیان را طرف دست چپ عقب تخت حکم نشستن کردم

وامیر هراول در پیش روي اورن بکیرد ومحرم یساول بر در خرگاه پیش پایه تخت ایستاده باشد

ferent ranks encircle and ſit round the throne in regular order. Book II.

AND that the deſcendants of the prophet, and the judges, and the theologians, and the learned men, and the prelates, and the grandees, and the nobles ſhould ſit on the right hand of the throne.

AND that the Ameer ul Omrau, and the Beglerbegs, and the Ameers, and the Nouniaun, and the chiefs, and the leaders of tribes, and of Toumaunaut and of Kuſhoonaut, and the Mingbauſhee, and the Euzbauſhee, and the Ounbauſhee-Ameers ſhould take their places ſuitably to their ranks and their ſtations, on the left hand of the throne.

AND I appointed a place oppoſite to the throne for the Deewaunbeghi and for the Vizzeers. And I ordered that the leading men and the magiſtrates of the empire, ſhould form a line and ſeat themſelves behind the Vizzeers;

AND that the ſelect ſoldiers, who had obtained the title of Bahaudur, and the mighty men of prowefs ſhould ſit on the right hand in the rear of the throne. And the leaders of the light troops I ordered to be ſeated in the rear of the throne on the left hand.

AND I commanded that that the Ameer of the Hurrauwul ſhould take his ſtation in the front; and that the chief of the Yuſſauwul † ſhould ſtand at the door of the imperial pavilion, oppoſite the foot of the

† The chief of the meſſengers. *Mogul.*

باشد وداد خواه در چپ وراست بایستند
وسایر سپاه وخدم وحشم بمراتب خود
صف زده ایستاده شوند وجاي خودرا نکاهدارند
وامر نمودم که چهار میر تزک دست
راست ودست چپ وپیش وپس مجلس را تزک
دهند

وحکم کردم که چون مجلس بر
تزوک در آید هزار طبق آش وهزار نان در مجلس
عام شیلان بکشند وهزار طبق در محفل خاصش حاضر
آورند از این جمله پانصد طبق به الوس امرا وسرداران
نام بنام بفرستند

تزوک ملک کیري

در هر ملکي که ظلم وجور وفسق
بسیار شود سلاطین را است که به نیت عدالت
عزیمت دفع ورفع فسق وظلم بسته بر آن ملک ترکتاز
آورند که تنکري تعالي بهمین نیت آن ملکرا از ظالم
بکیرد وبه عادل بسپارد چنانچه من ولایت ماورالنهر
از

throne; and the receivers of petitions on the right and on the left; Book II.

And that the ſoldiers in general, and the imperial domeſtics, ſhould ſtand in lines according to their degrees, and be attentive to keep in their proper ſtations.

And I commanded, that four Meer Toozzuk † ſhould eſtabliſh and preſerve order in the imperial aſſembly; before, and behind, and on the right, and on the left of the throne.

And I commanded, when the aſſembly was formed and regulated, that among the inferior people a thouſand diſhes of meat, and a thouſand loaves, ſhould be diſtributed; and that a thouſand diſhes of meat and a thouſand loaves ſhould be brought into the imperial aſſembly; and that five hundred of that thouſand ſhould be ſent to the Ameers of tribes, and to the chiefs; to each by his name, and by his title.

Regulations concerning the reduction of kingdoms.

If in any kingdom tyranny, and oppreſſion, and iniquity ſhall be predominant, it is the duty of a prince, from a regard to juſtice and the law, to reſolve on the expulſion and extirpation of the authors of that oppreſſion and iniquity; and to aſſault that kingdom. For Almighty God from the ſame motives will wreſt that

† Regulators, maſters of the ceremonies.

از دست ظالمان اوزبکیه بنیت عدالت انتزاع
نمودم

ودر هر ملکي که شریعت ضعیف باشد
وبزرک کردهاي خدارا عزیز ندارند وبندها خاص خداي
تعالي را آزرده کردانند سلطان ملک کیر را است
که نیت رواج دین وشریعت محمدي صلي الله
علیه وسلم کرده بدآن ملک در آید که رسول
خدا ویرا تایید خواهد نمود چنانچه من دار الملک
هندوستان را از سلطان محمود نبیره فروز شاه وملو خان
وسارنک انتزاع نمودم ودین وشریعت را رواج دادم
بتخانهاي آن دیاررا خراب ساختم

وهر مملکتي که متوطنان وساکنان
آن مملکت از حاکم ووالي خود در آزار باشند
ودلهاي اهل آن دیار از والي خود منصرف کردد
ملک ستان را است که آن ملک را بحیطه تصرف
در آورد وبمجرد توجه سلطان نیکو سیر آن ملک
مسخر کردد

چنانچه من ممالک خراسان را از
سلاطین کرت انتزاع نمودم وبمجرد توجه من بعزیمت
تسخیر

kingdom from the hand of the tyrant, and deliver it over to the upright aſſailant. THUS, from a regard to juſtice and the law, I delivered the country of Mauwur u Nuhur from the hands of the Ouzbuk tyrants. Book II.

AND in whatever country the holy laws are diſregarded; where they neglect thoſe to whom the Almighty hath given dignity; where they injure and oppreſs his choſen ſervants; it is the duty of a conqueror, with a firm determination to ſupport the faith and the laws of Mahummud (on whom be the bleſſing of God) to invade that country: for the prophet of the Lord ſhall aſſiſt him in all his undertakings. THUS I wreſted from Sooltaun Muhmood (the grandſon of Feeroze Shaah) from Mulloo Khaun, and from Saurung, the capital of the empire of Hindoſtaun; and I re-eſtabliſhed the true faith; and I overturned the habitations of the idols in that country.

IT is the duty of a victorious king to bring under his authority every empire or kingdom, where the inhabitants thereof are oppreſſed by their prince and ruler, and where the hearts of the people are turned aſide from their governor. No ſooner ſhall the upright prince approach, than that kingdom ſhall fall into his hands.

THUS I delivered the kingdom of Khorauſaun from the princes of the houſe of Kurroot. As ſoon as I advanced, with the reſolution to reduce the capital of

دار الملک خراسان سلطان غیاث الدین آمده مملکت خراسان را با خزاین ودفاین پیشکش کرد

ودر هر ملکي که الحـاد وزندقه بسیار شود واهل آن دیار از سپاه ورعیت بطوایف متنوعه متفرق شوند زوال آن مملکت نـزدیک رسیده باشد جهان ستان را است که بر آن مملکت ترکتاز آورد چنانچـه من ممالک عراق عجـم وفارس را از وجـود ملاعین ملاحده پاک ساختم وملوک طـوایـف را بر انداختم وبندهاي خدا را از ظلم ایشان که هریک در ناحیه علم سلطنت بر افراخته بودند نجات دادم

ودر هر ملکي که عقاید اهالي آن ملک از عقاید خاندان حضرت سید المرسلین صلوات الله علیه تـغـیـیر یابد سلاطین را واجب است که آن ولایت را مسخر گردانند واهالي آن ملک را از اعتقاد بد ایشان باز آورند چنانچه من بمملکت شام در آمده جماعت که بد اعتقاد بودند ایشانرا بسزا رسانیدم

وچون شروع در ملک گیري کردم چهار امر را پیش نهاد خاطر خود ساختم

اول در امـور مـلـک گیري تدبـیر وکنکاش درست بکار بردم

دوم

of Khoraufaun, Sooltaun Gheeaus u deen came forth unto me, and he delivered the treafures, and the wealth, and the kingdom into my hands. Book II.

AND in every kingdom, where herefy and fchifm fhall abound, and where the inhabitants of that country, both foldiers and fubjects, fhall be divided into different parties and factions, the deftruction of that kingdom is at hand; and it is the duty of a victorious monarch to invade that country. THUS I purified the kingdoms of Fauris and Erauk a Ajjum from the exiftence of the accurfed heretics; and I overturned the leaders of the factions, who had each of them elevated the ftandard of power, throughout thofe territories, and I delivered the fervants of God from their tyranny and oppreffions.

AND in every kingdom, where the articles of the faith of the inhabitants thereof fhall be altered from thofe of the defcendants of the prince of the prophets, (on whom be the blefling of Almighty God) it is the duty of an Emperor to reduce that Kingdom, and to bring back the inhabitants thereof from their evil tenets. THUS I entered the kingdom of Shaum, and punifhed all thofe who held pernicious doctrines.

WHEN I firft entered upon the reduction of kingdoms, I firmly adhered to four certain maxims.

FIRST, in thofe things which appertain to the acquifition of dominions, I acted from deep deliberation, and from mature counfel.

SECONDLY,

دوم اندیشه وحـزم واحتیاط بسیار نمودم
تـا آنکه در کارها غلط نکردم وبنایـید آلهي هر
تدبـیري که کردم راست ودرست افـتاد ومزاج وطبایع
اهل هر ملکي را بخاطر آوردم وموافق طبیعت ایشان
سلوک کرده حاکم تعین نمودم

سیوم سیصد وسیزده مردم مردانه اصیل
وشجـاع وفرزانه بخود متفق ساختم وایشان در اتفاق
بمرتبه بودند که کویا همکي ایشان یک تن بودند
وعزیمت وراي وکفتار وکردار ایشان همي یک بود
چون میکفتند که این کار میکنم بر نمي کشتند
وتا آن کاررا باتمام نمي رسانیدند دست از آن باز
نمیداشتند

چهارم کار امروزرا بفردا نینداختم ودر
هنکام نرمي نرمي بکار بردم ودر وقت درشتي درشتي
کردم ودر زمان تاني شتاب نکردم ودر کار شتاب درنک
ننمودم وکاري که بتدبیر سر انجام یافتي بشمشیر
نمیکشادم

وروزها

SECONDLY, I ufed reflection, and caution, and circumfpection, that I might not err in execution. And fuch was the favour of the Almighty, that every determination which I formed, proved in the end judicious and fuccefsful. I informed myfelf of the difpofitions and genius of the natives of every country; and I accommodated myfelf to their prejudices in the appointment of their governors.

THIRDLY, I united unto myfelf three hundred and thirteen refolute men, of nobility, of bravery, and of wifdom; and fo firmly were they united, that the whole, it might be faid, were as one perfon: and their refolutions, and their actions, and their declarations were the fame. When they faid, "We will do thus," they did it: for until they had concluded the enterprife on which they had determined, they withdrew not their hands therefrom.

FOURTHLY, I poftponed not till to-morrow the bufinefs of to-day. When lenity was neceffary, I acted with lenity; and in the hour of feverity I was fevere. At the time when delay was policy, I acted not with precipitation; and when expedition was neceffary, I was not guilty of delay: and the bufinefs which could be concluded by addrefs and negotiation, I committed not to the fword.

وروزهــا با ارباب تجــربه وهــوشمندان
شطرنج ملک کیري مي باختم وشبها که در خوابکاه
تکیه میزدم در تمشیت امور مملکت تفکر میکردم
وصورت انجام آنرا بخود تصویر مینمودم

وطریق ملک کیري را خود بخود اندیش
میکردم که از کدام راه در آیم وکدام طرف بدر
آیم ودر معاملات سپاه فکر میکردم که کدام یکي را
تربــیت نمایم وچه کسرا کار فرمایم تا غلط نکنم وپیش
بــیني در هر کار مینمودم وهر کس از اعیان سپاه
که بمن دوستي کردند بایشان احسان نمودم وهر
کس بمن دشمني کرد بوي مدارا کردم

وکساني که بآنها نیکي کردم وآنها
بمن بدي کردند ایشانرا حرام زاده دانستم که قول
رسول رب العالمین است که ولد الزنا از دنیا بــیرون
نرود تا بمحسن خود بدي نکند

پــیــر من بمن نوشت که ترا است
که بحکم خــدا ورســول خــدا عمل نمايء وآل
وذربات

THE day I paſt in examining the difficulties of conqueſt with wiſe and experienced men; and in the night when I laid myſelf down in the chamber of repoſe, I deliberated on the execution of my reſolutions, and I formed the plan on which they were to be conducted.

AND I myſelf reflected on the meaſures I ſhould purſue in the reduction of kingdoms; how I ſhould advance, and which way I ſhould retreat. And I alſo conſidered thoſe things which concerned my ſoldiers, whom I ſhould encourage and reward, and whom I ſhould order upon ſervice; that I might not err in my reſolves. And I exerted foreſight and circumſpection in every tranſaction. And the leaders of my ſoldiers who attached themſelves unto me, I treated with kindneſs and diſtinction; and I conducted myſelf with ſeeming attention towards thoſe who were my enemies.

AND I conſidered as baſe-born thoſe on whom I had conferred favours, and who, for the good which they had received, returned evil. For it is the proverb of the prophet of the Creator of men and angels, 'That the baſe-born will not depart from the world, 'until he hath deceived and injured his patron, and benefactor.'

MY venerable PEER wrote unto me, ſaying, "It is thy duty to act in obedience to the commands of "thy God and the prophet of thy God, and to protect

وزربات آنحضرت را نصرت دهي

وسلاطين را كه نعمتهاي خدا ميخورند وبخدا ورسول وي باغي شده اند از ملك خدا اخراج نماي ودر ملك خدا عدالت بكار بري كه كفته اند ملك بكفر باقي ماند وبظلم باقي نماند

وترا است كه افعال قبيحه واعمال شنيعه از ملك خدا براندازي كه افعال بد در عالم آن اثر ميكنند كه غذاي بد در بدن واثار ظلم را محو نماي

وطول بقاي ظالم را در عالم حمل بر نيكي ظالم نكني وسبب طول بقاي ظالمان وفاسقان آنست كه ظلم وفسقي كه در نهاد ايشان نهاده اند از قوت بفعل آورند آنكاه بسخط وغضب آلهي كرفتار كردند

كاه باشد كه قدرت آلهي ظلمه وفسقه وفجره را به بند وزندان وتاراج وقحط وكرسنكي ووباء عام وموت فجاء بيك مرتبه كرفتار كرداند

وكاه

" and aſſiſt the deſcendants and poſterity of that holy " meſſenger.

" AND thoſe princes who feed on the boun- " ties of the Creator, and yet rebel againſt their God and " his prophet, thou ſhalt drive out from the kingdoms of " the Lord. And thou ſhalt act with juſtice in the land " of thy Creator: for it is ſaid, That dominion may be " continued to the infidel; but that to the tyrant it ſhall " not be continued.

" AND it is thy duty to root out from the " country of God all pollutions and abominations; for " evil practices have that effect on the world, which per- " nicious aliment hath on the human body. Obliterate " every veſtige of cruelty and oppreſſion.

" AND aſcribe not the continued proſpe- " rity of the tyrant in this world to the merits of the " tyrant: for the cauſe of the long duration of the power " of the wicked and the oppreſſors is this, that they may " bring forth into action all the wickedneſs and all the " crimes which they have treaſured up in their hearts, " and then be overtaken by the wrath and indignation of " Almighty God.

" IT ſhall ſometimes come to paſs, that " the omnipotence of the Creator ſhall at once chaſtize " the cruel, and the wicked, and the impious, with a " variety of puniſhments; by chains, and by priſons; " and by deſolation, and by famine, and by hunger; by " an univerſal peſtilence, and by ſudden death; and by " unforeſeen deſtruction.

AND

وگاه باشد که صلحا واتقیا ونیکو
کاران وبیکناهان بشامت افعال واعمال بدان در
بلا افتند وگرفتار شوند چه آتش که در نیستان
افتد تر وخشک آنرا بسوزد

واز ترقیات واستدراجات کفار وفجار
وظلمه وفساق تعجب نکنی وبغلط نروی وبا خود
نگوی که ظالمان وفاسقان وفاجران هرچند ظلم
وفسق وفجور بیشتر میکنند نعمت ایشان بیشتر
میشود

پس سبب بسیاری نعمت ایشان را باید
دانست چه سببش اینست که شاید نظر بر عنایت
منعم حقیقی کرده از ظلم وفسق باز آیند وشکر
نعمت بجای آورند

چون از ادای شکر الهی غافل شوند
وبدرگاه سبحانی باز گشت ننمایند ونعمت خدا
ورسول خدا فراموش کنند در آخر بغضب وسخط
ایزدی گرفتار کردند

چون نامه پیر من بمن رسید ملک
خدا را از چنگ ظالمان وکافران وملاحدان ومنافقان
وفاسقان

" AND it ſhall ſometimes come to paſs, " that the juſt, and the religious, and the virtuous, and " the innocent ſhall be overtaken and involved in the ca- " lamities of the evil doers. For the fire, which falleth " in the wilderneſs of reeds, conſumeth both the green " and the dry.

" AND be not ſurprized at the proſperity " and the ſucceſs of the impious, and the wicked, and " the infidel, and the tyrant. And err not in thy conclu- " ſions, and ſay not unto thyſelf, The good things of " the wicked, and of the impious men, and of the tyrant " are increaſed unto them; although in wickedneſs, and " in tyranny, and in impiety they daily increaſe.

" THOU oughteſt firſt to underſtand the " cauſe of their increaſing proſperity. For the cauſe is, " that perhaps (reflecting on the bounties of their true " benefactor) they may turn back from their wickedneſs " and oppreſſions, and be grateful for the favours which " they receive.

" BUT if they neglect to pay the tribute " of gratitude to their God, and return not back to the " holy gate, and if they forget the bounties of their " Creator, and the prophet of their Creator, they ſhall in " the end be overtaken by the anger and the vengance of " the omnipotent chaſtiſer."

WHEN the letter of my venerable PEER came to my hands, I wreſted from the graſp of the op- preſſors

وفاسقان وفاجران بر آوردم ودر دفع ورفع ایشان کمر همت بر بستم

تزوک ملک داري

هر ملک را که مسخر ساختم عزیزان آن ملک را عزیز داشتم وسادات وعلما وفضلا ومشایخ را تعظیم واحترام نمودم وسیورغال ووظیفه ومرسوم بایشان مقرر ساختم وکلانتران آن ولایت را بمنزله برادر وخوردان واطفال را بجاي فرزند دانستم

وسپاه آن ملک را بدرگاه خود راه دادم ورعایا را مستمال گردانیدم وهمه را در میانه امید وبیم نگاهداشتم وبه نیکان هر ملک نیکي کردم وبدان واشرار وبد نفسان را از مملکت اخراج نمودم

وادانې واراذل را در مرتبه ایشان نگاهداشتم ونگذاشتم که قدم از حد خود فراتر گذارند واکابر واشراف را بمراتب عالیه امتیاز دادم وابواب عدالت در هر ملک مفتوح داشتم وطریق ظلم وستم را مسدود گردانیدم

وحاکم

pressors and the infidels, and from the seditious, and the wicked, and the impious, the lands of the Lord: and I girded up my loins to extirpate and destroy them. Book II.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE GOVERNMENT OF CONQUERED KINGDOMS.

IN every kingdom which I conquered, I respected those who were worthy of respect, and I venerated and honoured the posterity of the prophet, and the theologians, and the learned, and the holy men; and I conferred upon them estates, and pensions, and appointments. And I considered the powerful and the opulent of that country as my brethren; and as my children, the poor and the helpless infants thereof.

AND the soldiers of that kingdom I admitted to my presence; and I soothed and encouraged the subjects; and I kept both the one and the other suspended between hope and fear. And to the good of every country I did good; and I expelled from my kingdoms the vicious, and the wicked, and the seditious.

THE base and the abject I confined within their proper bounds; and I permitted them not to exceed the limits prescribed them. And on the nobles and the grandees I conferred preeminence by exalted dignities; and I threw open the portals of equity and justice in every country; and I closed up the avenues to cruelty and oppression.

وحاكم هر ملكي را كه مسخر من شد
حكومت آن ولايت را باز بوي ارزاني داشتم وويرا بقيد
احسان در آورده مطيع ومنقاد خود ساختم وهر كه
بمن در نيآمد ويرا بكردار وي كرفتار كردانيدم وحاكم
عادل وعاقل وعامل بر ايشان تعين نمودم

وامر كردم كه دزدان وقطاع الطريق
هر ملك را بياسا رسانند ومفسدان واشرار وبد نفسان را
از ملك اخراج نمايند وهرزه كاران را در شهر وملك
نكذارند
وكوتوالي بهر شهر وقصبه تعين كنند
كه نكاهبان رعيت وسپاه باشد وانچه از هر كس
بدزدي رود در عهدهء كوتوال باشد

وامر نمودم كه بر سر راهها ضابطان
تعين نمايند كه حارث وپاسپان راهها بوده اموال
واسباب وامتعه مترددين تجار ومسافران را منزل بمنزل
برسانند واكر فوتي وفرو كذاشتي در آن بشود از
عهدهء جواب آن بر آيند

وامر

AND every kingdom which I reduced, I gave back the government of that kingdom to the prince thereof; and I bound him in the chains of kindneſs and generoſity; and I drew unto me his obedience and ſubmiſſion. The refractory I overcame by their own devices; and I appointed over them a vigorous, and ſagacious, and upright governor. Book II.

AND I commanded that the thieves and the high-way robbers of every country ſhould be put to death; and that the ſeditious, and the vicious, and the profligate ſhould be baniſhed from the realm; and that vagrants and buffoons ſhould not be permitted to reſide in the cities or in the country;

AND that a magiſtrate ſhould be appointed in every city and in every town, who ſhould watch over the conduct of the ſoldier and the ſubject; and that he ſhould be accountable for every thing that was ſtolen.

AND I ordered that guards ſhould be ſtationed at the entrance of the roads; and that they ſhould watch and defend the roads and the ſtages; and conduct in ſafety from ſtage to ſtage the merchandize, and the effects, and the property of the merchant and the traveller; and that if any loſs or deficiency ſhould be found therein, that they ſhould be anſwerable for the value thereof.

وامر نمودم که حکام به تهمت وسخنان
ارباب غرض وبد گویان وبد نفسان بر هیچ فردي از
افراد متوطنان وساکنان بلاد وامصار جریمت نکنند
بعد از ثبوت گناه از احداث اربعه جریمت فراخور گناه
از مجرم بگیرند

وامر نمودم که سر شماري وخانه شماري
از هیچ شهري وقصبه نگیرند وهیچکس از سپاه در
خانه رعیت بزور نزول نکنند وچهارپایان واولاغ* رعایا
نگیرند
ودر جمع امور رعایاء هر مملکتي
در سلوک ومعاش حد اعتدال نگاهدارند وامر نمودم
که گدایان هر ملک را وظیفه مقرر گردانند تا رسم
گدايء بر افتد

تزوک خبر داري وآگاهي از احوال
ملک ومملکت ورعیت وسپاه

امر نمودم که در هر سرحدي وولایتي
وشهري ولشکري خبر نویسي تعین نمایند که از
اعمال

AND I commanded that the governors ſhould not preſume to puniſh or oppreſs any one of the inhabitants of the towns or the cities under their juriſdiction, on the accuſation (or information) of the malevolent, and the profligate and the ſelf-intereſted; but that after conviction, according to the FOUR INSTITUTIONS, a fine ſhould be levied on the guilty perſon in proportion to the miſdemeanour.

AND I ordained that the poll-tax and the houſe-tax ſhould not be levied on any town, or on any city whatever; and that no one of the ſoldiers ſhould preſume to enter by force the dwelling of a civil inhabitant, or to ſeize on the cattle, or the property, of the ſubject;

AND that in every concern of the inhabitants of every country, the governors thereof ſhould in their conduct keep within the limits of equity and juſtice. And I ordained that ſubſiſtence ſhould be allowed to the mendicants of every kingdom, that the practice of beging might be aboliſhed.

REGULATIONS FOR THE OBTAINING INTELLIGENCE AND INFORMATION OF THE STATE OF THE EMPIRE, AND OF THE PROVINCES, AND OF THE SOLDIERS, AND OF THE SUBJECTS.

I ordained that on every frontier, and in every country, and in every city, and in every camp a writer of intelligence ſhould be eſtabliſhed; and that each

اعمال وافعال حکام ورعیت وسپاه ولشکر خود ولشکر بیکانه ومداخل ومخارج مال ومنال ودر آمدن وبر آمدن مردم بیکانه وقوافل از اهل هر مملکت واخبار ممالک وسلاطین همسایه واعمال وافعال ایشان وجماعه علما وافاضل که از بلاد بعیده روي بدرکاه من آورده باشند بتفصیل از روي راستي ودرستي بدرکاه مینوشته باشند

واکر خلاف نمایند واز قرار واقع ننویسند انکشتان اخبار نویسان قطع نمایند واکر اخبار نویسي کار سپاهي را پوشیده دارد ودر لباس دیکر بنویسد دست ویرا قطع کنند واکر دروغي را بنابر تهمت وغرضي نوشته باشد اورا بقتل رسانند وامر نمودم که اخبار مذکور روز بروز وهفته بهفته وماه بماه بعرض برسد

وامر نمودم که یک هزار نفر جمازه سوار واسپ سوار چپقونچي* رونده دونده وهزار نفر پیاده جلد تعین نمایند که اخبار ممالک وسرحد واراده ومقاصد

each ſhould write to the imperial preſence, with truth and perſpicuity, full accounts of the conduct and the behaviour of the governors, and of the officers; and of the ſoldiers, and of the ſubjects; and of the ſtate of my own armies, and of thoſe of foreign powers; and of the bringing in, and the carrying out of all merchandize and commodities; and of the entrance, and the departure of all ſtrangers, and of all Kauruvvauns of every country; and of the tranſactions of the neighbouring kingdoms and princes, and of their conduct and behaviour; and alſo of the learned and ſkilful men of diſtant countries, who might turn their faces towards my dominions:

AND that if the writer of intelligence was guilty of falſehood, and wrote not the true ſtate of the facts, his fingers ſhould be cut off: and that if he ſuppreſſed the laudable actions of a ſoldier, or wrote an unjuſt account thereof he ſhould be deprived of his right hand: and that if he wrote a falſe account from enmity and from malice, he ſhould be put to death. And I commanded that theſe accounts ſhould be tranſmitted unto me day by day, and week by week, and month by month.

AND I ordained, that a thouſand ſwift camel-men, and a thouſand ſwift horſe-men, and a thouſand expeditious foot-men ſhould be ſelected; and that they ſhould inform themſelves of the occurrences of the countries, and of the frontiers; and of the intentions and the

ومقاصد سلاطین جواررا تحقیق نموده وبحضور آمده
خبر رسانند تا آنکه پیش از وقوع واقع اعلاج نمایم

چنانچه خبر شکست یافتن توقتمش
خان از اروس خان بمن رسید دانستم که وي بمن
پناه خواهد آورد واستعداد جنک اروس خان وامداد
توقتمش خان نمودم

چنانچه در وقتي که بر تسخیر ممالک
هندوستان عازم شدم بمن خبر رسانیدند که در هر
نواحي هندوستان حاکمي ووالي بر تخت سلطنت
نشست

چنانچه سارنک برادر ملوخان در سر
زمین ملتان علم حکومت بر افراخته ودر دهلي سلطان
محمود خان علم سلطنت بر افراخته ودر ناحیه لاهور
ملو خان لشکر جمع آورده ومبارک خان در نواحي
قنوج بدعوي سلطنت بر خاسته ودر هر ولایتي از
ولایت هندوستان شخصي کردن بدعوي سلطنه
برافراخته

چون این خبر بمسامع من رسید تسخیر
آن ملک در نظر من آسان نبود لیکن در نظر سپاه
مشکل بود

چنانچه

the designs of the neighbouring princes; and that they should return unto the presence, and give me information thereof, that I might provide the remedy before the evil arrived. Book II.

THUS I received intelligence of the defeat of Touktummish Khaun by Auroos Khaun. I knew that Touktummish Khaun would fly for protection unto me; and I made the necessary preparations to support Touktummish, and to wage war with Auroos.

THUS at the time that I was about to undertake the reduction of the empire of Hindostaun, information was brought unto me, that independent princes and chiefs were seated on the throne of government in every quarter of those dominions;

THUS, that Saurung, the brother of Mulloo Khaun, had elevated the standard of power in the land of Mooltaun; and that in Dehli Sooltaun Muhmood Khaun had erected the ensign of authority; and that in the territories of Lauhore Mulloo Khaun had drawn together a numerous army; and that Mubbauruk Khaun had aspired to the regal title in the kingdom of Kunnouj; and that in every province of the provinces of Hindostaun some one had assumed the regal dignity.

WHEN I received this information, the conquest of that empire appeared easy in my sight; but in the eyes of my soldiers it was an undertaking of difficulty.

چنانچه در وقت که مملکت هندرا
مسخر ساختم خبر بمن رسید که قیصر روم بر بعضي
مملکت من ترکتاز آورده وکرجیان از حد خود
تجاوز نموده به بعضي قلاع که لشکرهاي من آنرا
محاصره داشتند آمده مدد اهالي قلعه کرده اند
وخود بخود کنکاش کردم اکر در
هند توقف نمایم در مملکت ایران خللي روي
خواهد داد نسق دار الملک هند نموده ایلغار کردم
وروزي چند در ماورالنهر توقف نمودم واز آنجا متوجه
روم وکرجستان شدم وجمیع آن ممالک مسخر
ساختم

تزوک سلوک ومعاش بمتوطنان
وساکنان بلاد ونسق مزارات اولیا وبزرکان دین
واوقاف ونذارات

امر نمودم که هر مملکتي که مسخر
کردد سپاهي که در آن مملکت باشد وپناه آورد
نوکر سازند وجاي دهند ورعایا ومتوطنان آن دیاررا
از حوادث وقتل وغارت واسیري محافظت نمایند
واموال

THUS, when I had ſubdued the empire of Hind, I received intelligence that the Keeſur of Room had ravaged certain of my provinces; and that the natives of Goorjiſtaun, exceeding their proper limits, had advanced to certain caſtles which were beſieged by my forces; and that they had given ſuccour to the inhabitants of thoſe caſtles.

AND I reflected with myſelf, that if I tarried longer in the empire of Hindoſtaun, diſorders would ariſe in the kingdom of Eraun. Having ſettled the affairs of the empire of Hind, I returned from thence with ſpeed. And I halted for a few days in Mauwur u Nuhur; and from thence I proceeded towards Room and Goorjiſtaun; and I conquered the whole of that extenſive empire.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE CONDUCT TO BE OBSERVED TOWARDS THE NATIVES, AND THE INHABITANTS, OF EVERY COUNTRY. AND OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE SHRINES OF THE SAINTS, AND OF THE FATHERS OF THE HOLY RELIGION. AND OF THE GIFTS AND PIOUS DONATIONS.

I ordained, in every kingdom which ſhould be ſubdued, that the warrior of that kingdom who ſubmitted unto me ſhould be received into my ſervice; and that the ſubjects and the inhabitants of that country ſhould be protected from injuries, and from ſlaughter, and from rapine, and from ſlavery;

واموال واسباب ایشان را از تاراج وبغما
نگاهدارند وغنایمی را که از آن ملک بدست آید
بقید ضبط در آورند

وسادات وعلما ومشایخ وفضلا واکابر
واشراف را اعزاز نمایند وکدخدیان وکلانتران
ودهقانان ومزارعان را استمالت دهند

ورعایا را در میانهٔ امید وبیم نگاهدارند
ومقدار گناه واستعداد او جریمت بگیرند

وامر نمودم که بسادات وعلما ومشایخ
وفضلا ودرویشان وگوشه نشینان هر مملکی که
بتسخیر در آید سیورغالات ووظیفه ومرسوم بدهند وبفقرا
وعجزه مساکین مدد ومعاش مقرر دارند وبمدرسین
ومشایخ وظیفه معین نمایند

وبروضات ومزارات اولیاي واکابر دین

مواضع

AND that their effects and their property should be protected from ravage and from plunder; and that the spoils which had been gathered from that country should be taken from the spoilers; Book II.

AND that the posterity of the prophet, and the theologians, and the holy and the learned men, and the nobles and the grandees should be treated with honour and respect; and that the chiefs, and the leading men, and the principal men of the towns and the villages, and those who followed agriculture, should be protected and encouraged;

AND that the subjects in general should be kept suspended between hope and fear; and that when guilty of a crime, they should be fined in proportion to the offence, and to their ability.

AND I ordained that to the posterity of the prophet, and to the theologians, and to the learned, and to the holy men, and to the religious, and to the recluse in every country which should come under my dominion, lands, and pensions, and appointments should be granted; and that subsistence and support should be allowed to the poor, and to the helpless, and to the indigent; and that to the teachers, and to the learned in religion salaries should be granted;

AND that for the support of the shrines and the sepulchres of the saints, and the fathers of the holy

مواضع وقف كنند وفرش وآش وروشناي مقرر نمايند

واول بروضه مقدسه امير المومنين شاه مردان علي ابن ابي طالب كرم الله وجه محال بخف وجله را وقف نمايند

وبروضه منوره امام حسين رضي الله عنه وبروضه قدوة الاوليا شيخ عبد القادر ومقبره امام اعظم ابو حنيفه رحمت الله عليه ومزارات ديكر مشايخ واكابر وبزركان دين كه در بغداد آسوده اند از براي هريك علي قدرهم مواضع ودهات كربلا وبغداد وغيره وقف نمايند

وبراي روضه منوره امام موسي كاظم وامام محمد نقي وسليمان فارسي محال مزروعه از جزاير وغيره حاصلات مداين وقف كنند

وبجهت روضه متبركه امام علي ابن موسي ناحيه كته بست ومحال شهر طوس را وقف نمايند زفرش وروشناي وآش يوميه مقرر سازند وبجهت مزارات

holy religion, lands ſhould be appointed; and that carpets, and food, and lamps ſhould be allowed to thoſe who reſided therein: Book II.

AND *firſt*, that for the holy ſhrine of the commander of the faithful, the king of men, Aali † the the ſon of Aboo Taulib (on whom be the favour of God) the diſtricts of Bukhf and Jilleh ſhould be aſſigned;

AND that for the pure ſhrine of the Imaum Hooſſein (whom the Almighty reward) and for the ſhrine of the mirror of the ſaints, Sheikh Abdulkaudir: and for the ſhrine of the great Imaum Aboo Khunneefeh (the mercy of God be upon him) and for the ſepulchres of the other ſaints, and fathers, and diſtinguiſhed men of the holy religion, who reſted from their labours in the city of Bughdaud; that for each of them, according to their dignities, the lands and the villages of Kurbullau and of Bughdaud, and other diſtricts ſhould be aſſigned;

AND that for the ſupport of the holy ſhrines of Imaum Mooſi Kauzim, and Imaum Mahummud Nukki, and Soolamaun Faurſi, the fertile lands of Juzzauir and other cities ſhould be granted;

AND that for the ſupport of the ſacred ſepulchres of Imaum Aali, the ſon of Mooſi, the lands of Kutteh Buſt, and the environs of the city of Toos ſhould be aſſigned; and that carpets, and lamps, and

† The fourth Khalif, and ſon-in-law to the Mahummudan lawgiver.

مزارات ومقابر مشايخ ايران وتوران نام بنام نذورات واوقاف معين نمايند

وامر نمودم كه هر مملكتي كه مسخر كردد كدايان آن ملك را جمع ساخته يوميه ووظيفه مقرر نمايند وايشان را تمغا* كنند كه ديكر كداي را بر طرف سازند واكر بعد از تمغا كداي نمايند ايشانرا به بلاد بعيده بفروشند يا سر دهند تا كدازان از مملكت من كم شود

تزوك تحصيل مال وخراج از رعيت ونسق ورونق ملك ومعموري واباداني وضبط وحراست مملكت

امر نمودم كه مال وخراج از رعيت بنهجي بكيرند كه موجب خرابي رعيت وويراني مملكت نشود كه خرابي رعيت موجب كمي خزانه است وكمي خزانه باعث تفرقه سپاه است وتفرقه سپاه موجب اختلال مرتبه سلطنت است

وامر

daily bread ſhould be allowed to the religious; and that benefactions and gifts ſhould be granted for the ſepulchres and the Mauſoleums of each of the ſaints of Eraun and of Tooraun.

AND I ordained that, in every kingdom which ſhould be conquered, the mendicants of that country ſhould be gathered together; and that ſubſiſtence and daily bread ſhould be allowed unto them; and that they ſhould be made penſioners and beg no more. And if after they were made penſioners they continued the practice of aſking alms, I commanded that they ſhould be ſold into foreign countries, or expelled from the realm: that the race of beggars might become extinct in my dominions.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE COLLECTION OF THE REVENUES AND THE TAXES FROM THE SUBJECTS; AND THE ORDER AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROVINCES; AND THE CULTIVATION, AND THE POPULATION, AND THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE POLICE OF THE EMPIRE.

I ordained that the revenues and the taxes ſhould be collected in ſuch a manner, as might not be productive of ruin to the ſubject, or of depopulation to the country. For the ruin of the ſubject cauſeth a diminution of the imperial treaſures; and a diminution of the imperial treaſures effecteth the diſperſion of the troops; and the diſperſion of the troops produceth the extinction of the imperial power.

وامر نمودم که هر مملکتي که مسخر
کرده واز حوادث در امن وامان در آيد حاصل
وواصل آن ملک را ملاحظه نمايند
اکر رعايا بجمع قديم راضي باشند
برضاي ايشان عمل نمايند والا موافق تزوک جمع
بربندند

وامر نمودم که خراج موافق حاصل
زراعت بکيرند وجمع بر حاصل زمين بر بندند
چنانچه اول اراضي مزروعه رعيت را که
بآب کاريز وچشمه ونهر ورود خانه زراعت کرده
باشند وآن آبها دوام واستمرار داشته باشد ضبط
نمايند وانچه حاصل آن آراضي باشد دو حصه برعيت
کذارند ويک حصه بسرکار اعلي تحصيل نمايند
واکر رعايا آداي اراضي مضبوطه بنقدي
راضي باشد انچه غله حصه سرکار را موافق نرخ وقت
نقدي بر رعيت قرار دهند وموافق نرخ نقد
بسپاهي برسانند

واکر

Book II.

AND I ordained that, in every country that ſhould be ſubdued (to the inhabitants of which charters of ſafety and ſecurity from dangers ſhould be granted) the produce and the revenue of that country ſhould be inſpected;

IF the ſubjects were ſatisfied with the old and eſtabliſhed taxes, that thoſe taxes ſhould be confirmed, agreeably to the wiſhes of the ſubjects; or if not, that they ſhould be determined according to the REGULATION.

AND I ordained that the duties ſhould be determined in proportion to the produce of the cultivated lands; and that the taxes on the produce of thoſe lands ſhould be affixed and aſcertained:

THUS firſt, that the cultivated grounds of the ſubject, which ſhould be made fertile by the water of canals, or by ſprings, or rivulets, or rivers (if thoſe waters flowed perpetually and continually) ſhould be ſuperintended by the officers of the crown; and that of the amount of the produce of thoſe grounds, two thirds ſhould be allowed to the poſſeſſor thereof, and one third be paid into the royal treaſury;

AND if the ſubject ſhould conſent to pay the tax for the reſtricted lands in ſpecie, that for the grain due to the treaſury the ſum ſhould be fixed on the ſubject according to the current price of the grain; and that correſponding to the current price of the grain, the money ſhould be paid to the ſoldiers; †

† If the price of grain was low the ſoldiers pay was leſs, if high, it was more: that is to ſay, it was always exactly proportioned to the value of the neceſſaries of life.

واكر رعيت بحاصل وقسمت سه توده
راضي نشوند اراضي مضبوط را اول ودوم وسيوم جريب
نمايند وجريب اول را سه خروار وجريب دوم را دو
خروار وجريب سيوم را يک خروار جمع بربندند ونصف را
گندم ونصفي را جو اعتبار کنند وانچه جمع شود
دو يک مال بگيرند

واكر رعيت با وجود اين هم بدادن مال
راضي نشود خرواري گندم را پنج مثقال نقره
وخرواري جورا دو نيم مثقال نقره نرخ نمايند وساوري
قلعه بر آن اضافه کنند وديگر بهيچ اسم ورسم چيزي
از رعايا مطالبه ننمايند

وباقي زراعت خريف وربيع وزمستاني
وتابستاني رعيت را وزراعتي که بآب باران مزروع
شده باشد جريب نمايند وانچه بتحرير در آيد به
ثلث وربع عمل کنند

† A *Jurreeb* is a certain land-measure, as our acre.

وسر

AND if the ſubject ſhould not be ſatisfied with the mode of collection, and with the partition of the general produce into three parts, that the reſtricted lands ſhould be divided into firſt, and ſecond, and third Jurreeb; † that the produce of the firſt Jurreeb ſhould be eſtimated at three loads, and the produce of the ſecond Jurreeb at two loads, and the produce of the third Jurreeb at one load; and that half thereof ſhould be eſtimated as wheat, and half thereof as barley; and that of the total amount one half of the produce ſhould be collected; Book II.

AND if the ſubject, notwithſtanding this, ſhould be unwilling to pay the tax in kind, that the value of a load of wheat ſhould be fixed at five Miſkauls of ſilver, and the value of a load of barley at two and a half Miſkauls of ſilver; and that the duty of the Kellaah ‡ ſhould be exacted over and above: but that nought elſe ſhould be demanded of the ſubject under any pretext or denomination whatever;

AND that the reſt of the lands of the huſbandman, thoſe which produced in the autumn, and in the ſpring, and in the ſummer, and in the winter; and the lands which depended on the rain for fertility, ſhould be divided into Jurreebs; and that of the produce of thoſe which were numbered, a third or a fourth ſhould be collected;.

‡ What this duty is, is unknown to the tranſlator.

AND

وسر سهار ومخترفه وساير جهات بلدان
ومواضع وآبخور وعلف چرا ومراعي موافق دستور
العمل قديم بعمل آوردند واكر رعيت راضي نشود
به هست وبود عمل نمايند

وامر نمودم كه پيش از رسيدن محصول
بر رعيت مال وجهات اطلاق نمايند وچون محصول
برسد بسه دفعه مال تحصيل كنند
واكر رعيت بي تحصيلدار مال كذاري
نمايد تحصيلدار تعين ننمايند واكر بتحصيلدار
محتاج شوند بحكم وسخن مال بكيرند كار
بچوب وريسمان وشلاق نرسانند ورعيت را به بند
وزنجير مقيد نكردانند

وامر نمودم كه هركس صحراي اباد
كند ويا كاريزي احداث نمايد يا باغي سبز كند
يا موضع ويراني را نو اباد سازد در سال اول چيزي
نكيرند ودر دوم انچه رعيت برضاي خود بدهد
بكيرند ودر سال سيوم موافق تزك مال بكيرند

وامر

AND that the duties on the herbs, and on the fruits, and on all the other productions of the country, and on the refervoirs of water, and on the commons, and on the pafture lands fhould be fixed and determined according to the ancient and eftablifhed practices: and if the fubject fhould not be content therewith, that the collections fhould be fettled according to the Huft and Bood. †

AND I ordained that, before the time of the gathering in the grain, the taxes fhould not be demanded; and, when the period of the harveft arrived, that they fhould be collected at three different times;

AND if the fubject paid the royal dues fpontaneoufly, that a tax-gatherer fhould not be appointed over him; and if there fhould be occafion for a tax-gatherer, that he fhould levy the duties by threats and by authority; but that he fhould not make ufe of the cudgel, and the cord, and the fcourge; nor prefume to confine the fubject in fetters and in chains.

AND I ordained, whoever undertook the cultivation of wafte lands, or built an aqueduct, or made a canal, or planted a grove, or reftored to culture a deferted diftrict, that in the firft year nothing fhould be taken from him, and that in the fecond year whatever the fubject voluntarily offered fhould be received, and that in the third year the duties fhould be collected according to the REGULATION.

† This regulation is not underftood by the tranflator.

وامر نمودم که اکر ارباب وکلانتر
بر ریزه رعیت تعدي نماید وموجب خرابي ریزه رعیت
باشد مقدار خرابي که بر ریزه رعیت رسیده باشد
از ارباب وکلانتر کرفته بایشان برسانند که بحال
خود باز آیند

ومواضع خراب اکر صاحب نداشته
باشند در خالصه معمور نمایند واکر صاحب داشته
باشند واکر پریشان باشد مصالح الاملاک بوي دهند
که موضع خودرا اباد سازد

وامر نمودم که در زمین خراب کاریزها
جاري سازند وپلهاي خراب را عمارت نمایند وبر نهرآبها
ورود خانها پلها بنا کنند ودر راهها بمقدار یک منزل
رباطي تعمیر نمایند وراهداران ومستحفظان در راهها
مقرر دارند ودر هر رباطي جمعي را متوطن سازند
که راهداري ونکاهباني بدیشان متعلق باشد ومال
که از اهل غفلت در راهها بدزدي برود راهداران
از عهده بر آیند

وامر نمودم که در هر شهري وبلدي
مسجدي

AND I ordained, that if the rich and the powerful ſhould oppreſs the poorer ſubject, and injure or deſtroy his property, an equivalent for the damage ſuſtained ſhould be levied on the rich oppreſſor, and be delivered to the injured perſon; that he might be reſtored to his former eſtate:

AND that all ruined lands which lay uncultivated (if there were no owners to thoſe lands) ſhould be annexed to the crown. And if there were owners, and thoſe owners were reduced to diſtreſs, I ordained that the neceſſary ſupplies ſhould be granted unto them, that they might cultivate their lands anew.

AND I commanded that the ruined bridges ſhould be repaired; and that bridges ſhould be conſtructed over the rivulets and over the rivers; and that on the roads, at the diſtance of one ſtage from each other, Kauruvvaunſurai † ſhould be erected; and that guards and watchmen ſhould be ſtationed on the road, and that in every Kauruvvaunſurai people ſhould be appointed to reſide; and that the watching and the guarding of the roads ſhould appertain unto them: and that thoſe guards ſhould be anſwerable for whatever ſhould be ſtolen on the roads from the unwary traveller.

AND I ordained that in every town and in every city a moſque, and a ſchool, and a monaſtery,

† Buildings for the reception of travellers.

 and

مسجدي ومدرسه وخانقاهي بنا كنند ولنكر خانه
بجهت نقرا ومساكين ودار الشفاي بجهت مرضان
مقرر دارند وطبيبي را موظف ساخته بر دار الشفا
موكل دارند ودر هر شهري دار الاماره ودار العداله
تعمير كنند وقورچيان* بجهت نكاهباني زراعت ورعيت
مقرر نمايند

وامر نمودم كه در هر ملكي سه وزير
تعين نمايند يكي براي رعيت كه انچه از رعيت
تحصيل شود واصلات آنرا سر رشته نكاهدارد كه چه
مبلغ وچه مقدار از رعيت بهر اسم ورسم بر آمده جمع
آنرا نكاهدارد

ووزير دوم از براي سپاه كه بسپاهيان
چه مبلغ رسيده وچه مبلغ طلب دارند

ووزيـــر سيوم از بـــراي ضبط اموال غايب
وآينده ورونده وحاصل بادي وهـــواي وضبط اموال
مجانين ومواريث واثام كه باستصواب قاضي وشيخ
الاسلام جمع سازد

وامر

and an alms houfe for the poor and the indigent, and an hofpital for the fick and infirm fhould be founded; and that a phyfician fhould receive a falary, and fhould be appointed to attend the hofpital: and that in every city a governtment-houfe, and a court for the adminiftration of juftice fhould be built: and that fuperintendants fhould be appointed to watch over the cultivated lands, and over the hufbandmen.

AND I ordained that in every country three Vizzeers fhould be ftationed. The FIRST for the fubject, To keep a regular account of the taxes and the duties received, and what fums, and to what amount, were paid in by the fubject, and under what denomination, and on what account; and to preferve an exact ftatement of the whole.

THE SECOND for the foldier, To take account of the fums paid to the troops, and of the fums remaining due unto them.

THE THIRD, To take poffeffion of the Amwaul a Ghauibi,† and of the cuftoms on the comers and on the goers; and of the revenues of the Baudi and the Huvvaui; and to take poffeffion of the effects of thofe who fhould become infane, and of thofe who died inteftate, and of thofe who fuffered by the laws. And he was to take poffeffion of thofe effects with the approbation of the magiftrate and of the ecclefiaftical judge.

† The effects of people loft, or abfconded.

وامر نهودم که اموال اموات را بوارث رسانند واکر وارث نباشد در ابواب الخیر صرف نهایند یا بهکه معظمه بفرستند

تزوک جنک وجدل ودر آمد وبر آمد معرکه وصف آرایء وفوج شکني

امر نهودم که اکر غنیم از دوازده هزار سوار کم باشد دربن جنک امیر الامرا سردار باشد ودوازده هزار سوار از اویهاق وتومانات بوي همراه نهایند واز مینک باشیان ویوز باشیان واون باشیان نیز همراه کردانند

وبهسافت یک منزل بجانب غنیم پیش رفته به غنیم رو برو شود وخبر بهن بفرستد

وامر نهودم که این دوازده هزار سوار نه فوج مرتب سازند برین ترتیب قول یک فوج وبرانغار سه فوج وجرانغار سه فوج وهراول یک فوج وقراول یک فوج

وفوج برانغار مشتهل باشد بر هراولي وچپاولي وشغاولي وهمچنین فوج جرانغار متضهن سه فوج هراول وچپاول وشغاول باشد

وامر

AND I commanded that the property of the deceaſed ſhould be reſtored to the lawful heir; and if there ſhould be no heir, that it ſhould be expended in pious uſes, or be ſent to the holy city of Mecca.

REGULATIONS OF WAR: FOR ENTERING INTO AND RETIRING FROM THE FIELD OF BATTLE; AND FOR FORMING THE LINE; AND FOR DEFEATING ARMIES.

I ordained, if the enemy exceeded not twelve thouſand cavalry, that an Ameer ul Omrau ſhould command the oppoſing army: and that twelve thouſand horſemen of the Ouyemauk, and the Toumaun; alſo Mingbauſhee, and Euzbauſhee, and Ounbauſhee Ameers ſhould be placed under his command:

AND that he ſhould advance to within the diſtance of one day's march from the enemy, and that he ſhould halt oppoſite unto them, and ſend me information thereof.

AND I commanded that thoſe twelve thouſand horſe ſhould be formed in nine diviſions after this manner: The main body one diviſion, and the right wing three diviſions, and the left wing three diviſions, and the advanced guard one diviſion, and the advanced guard of the advanced guard one diviſion:

AND that the right wing ſhould conſiſt of its own advanced guard, and its right and its left diviſions; and that the left wing ſhould alſo conſiſt of its own advanced guard, and of its right and its left diviſions.

AND

وامر نمودم که امیر الامرا در زمین
جنک کاه چهار چیز ملاحظه نماید اول آب آن
سر زمین دوم زمینی که سپاه را نکاهدارد سیوم
که بر غنیم مشرف باشد وآفتاب رو برو نباشد تا
شعاع آفتاب چشم سپاه را خیره نکرداند چهارم پیش
روي جنک کاه کشاده ووا باشد

وامر نمودم که پیش از جنک یک روز
صف آرايء نمایند وتزک افواج نموده قدم پیش
کذارند وسمتي که میرفته باشند سر اسپان خود
از آن سمت بر نکردانند وبچپ وراست میل نکنند
وامر نمودم که چون نظر سپاه بر افواج غنیم افتد
باوازه بلند تکبیر کفته سورن اندازند

واکر عارض لشکر ببیند که
سردار خطا کند آن عارض دیکري را بجا وي
بنشاند وبیرلیغ فتح که من بوي سپرده ام بامرا
وسپاه نمودار کرداند

† *Ullah ackbur*, God is great.

وامر

AND I ordered that the general ſhould attend to four particulars in his choice of the field of battle.—FIRST, the water thereof.—And SECONDLY, the ſtrength of the ground, that his flanks and his rear might be covered.—And THIRDLY, that his ſituation be more elevated than the ſituation of the enemy; and that the ſun be not in his front, that the glare thereof dazzle not the eyes of his troops.—FOURTHLY, that the ground before his lines be extenſive and open.

AND I commanded that the army ſhould be marſhalled, and the line be formed on the day preceding the action; and that (the forces being ranged in order of battle) they ſhould march towards the enemy; and that they ſhould not turn the heads of their horſes from the direction in which they were advancing; that they ſhould neither incline to the left nor to the right. And when the eyes of the army fell upon the forces of the enemy, I ordered that they ſhould utter a great ſhout, and repeat the Tuckbeer † with a loud voice.

AND I commanded, if the Auriz ‡ of the army ſaw that the leader thereof was deficient in his duty, that he ſhould deprive him of his command, and appoint another in his place; and that he ſhould open and communicate to the Ameers and to the ſoldiers the order which I had delivered unto him for that purpoſe.

‡ A ſort of field-deputy, appointed to obſerve the conduct of the commander in chief.

AND

وامر نمودم که سردار لشکر باتفاق عارض
کمي وبسياري لشکر غنيم را ملاحظه نمايند وسرداران
طرف خود وطرف غنيم را مقابله نمايند ودر کمي
وبسياري تلافي وتدارک کنند واسلحه سپاه خود وسپاه
دشمن بخاطر آورند ورفتار غنيم را به بينند که
باهستکي وپيوستکي بجنک مي در آيند يا باضطراب

وروش جنک غنيم را بخاطر آورند که
بيک مرتبه ترکتاز مي آورند يا فوج فوج متعاقب
يکديکر حمله مي آورند وبه بينند که در هنکام
تاختن خودرا غنيم ميرساند وبر مي کردد وباز حمله
آورد يا بهمان حمله اول اکتفاي نمايند اکر چنين
باشد سپاه را است که صدمه تاخت ايشانرا بردارد
وصبر نمايد که شجاعت صبر يک ساعت است

وامر نمودم که تا غنيم بجنک مبادرت
ننمايد بر وي سبقت نکيرند وامر نمودم که چون
غنيم

AND I ordained that the general of the army ſhould, in conjunction with the Auriz, reconnoitre the numbers of the foe; and that he ſhould compare his chiefs with thoſe of the enemy, and confront them to each other accordingly; and that he ſhould take the neceſſary precautions to ſupply all deficiencies; and that he ſhould conſider well the different kinds of arms uſed by the ſoldiers of the enemy and by his own; and that he ſhould obſerve the motions of his foes, whether they advanced into the field ſlowly and in good order, or whether they ruſhed forward in confuſion;

AND that he ſhould conſider and comprehend the movements and the order of the enemy's battle, whether they charged at once and in an united body, or by detachments, the one ſucceeding the other; and that he ſhould obſerve, in the moment of aſſault, whether the enemy advanced and retired, and prepared to charge again, or whether they appeared ſatisfied with their firſt attempt. When the latter is the caſe, it is the duty of the ſoldier to bear lightly the ſhock of the enemy's attack, and to ſtand firm and patient. For bravery is but patience and firmneſs for an hour.

AND I ordained that until the foe advanced to the attack, he ſhould not be attacked. And I ordered, when the enemy entered the field of battle, that the attention

غنيم بميدان در آيد سردار را نظر بر فرمايش وكار فرمودن افواج نهكانه باشد

چه كار سردار همين است كه افواج را كار فرمايد وسردار را است كه در وقت كار دل خودرا پاي ندهد ودست وپا كم نكند وهر فوجي را بمنزله سلاحي از اسلحه فرا كيرد از تير وتبر وشمشير وكرز وكارد وخنجر وهر فوج را بوقت كار فرمايد

وسردار را است كه نه فوج را وخودرا بمنزله شخص كشتي كير فرا كيرد كه به هر عضو خود از دست وپا وسر وسينه وغيره بجنك در آمده واميد است كه چون نه ضرب شمشير دفعه دفعه بر فوج غنيم برسد البته در ضرب نهم شكست يابد

وسردار را است كه اول فوج هراول را بر غنيم بدواند وهراول برانغار متعاقب آن بمدد بفرستند واز عقب هراول برانغار هراول جرانغار را براند تا آنكه سه ضرب بر افواج غنيم آيد اكر درين وقت هراولان زبوني نمايند فوج اول برانغار را براند واز عقب

tention of the general ſhould be turned to the conducting and the directing of the efforts of his troops. Book II.

For the duty of the commander is to govern and to guide the movements of his forces; and to be cool, and firm, and collected within himſelf in the hour of trial; and to conſider each diviſion of his army as a particular inſtrument of the inſtruments of war; as the arrow, and the battle-axe, and the ſword, and the mace, and the poniard, and the dagger; and to direct the edge or the point of each in the moment of neceſſity.

And it is the duty of a general to conſider himſelf and the nine diviſions of his army as a wreſtler who entereth into action, and fighteth with every part of his body — with his arms and with his feet, and with his breaſt, and with his head. And there is ground for expectation, when eight aſſaults ſhall have been ſucceſſively made on the line of the enemy, that in the ninth ſhock they will certainly be defeated.

And it is the buſineſs of a ſkilful general firſt to charge the foe with his advanced guard. And let him then ſend forward the advanced guard of his right wing to ſupport them; and after them the advanced guard of the left wing: that three ſucceſſive ſhocks may be given to the force of the enemy. And if at this juncture the advanced guards ſhould ſhrink back from before the foe, let him direct the firſt diviſion of the right wing to

عقب وي فوج دوم جرانغاررا براند اكر فتح نشود
فوج دوم برانغار براند ومتعاقب وي فوج اول
جرانغاررا براند وخبر بمن فرستد

ومنتظر رابات من باشد وتكيه بر عنايات
آلهي كرده سردار خود بجنك در آيد ومرا در معرك
حاضر داند كه بتوفيق الله چون هشت ضرب بر
غنيم واقع آيد در ضرب نهم غنيم شكست خورد
وفتح روزي شود

وسرداررا است كه تيز جلوي نكند
ولشكررا كار فرمايد وبعد از آنكه كار بوي رسد تا
تواند خودرا بكشتن ندهد كه كشته شدن سردار
بد نامي آرد وموجب خيركي غنيم مي كردد

پس سرداررا است كه براي وتدبير
كار كند وتعجيل نكند كه تعجيل از شيطان
است وبجاي در نيآيد كه از آن نتواند بر آمد

ترتيب صف اراي

charge, and after them the ſecond diviſion of the left wing: and if victory proceedeth not from them, let him order the ſecond diviſion of the right wing into action, and let them be followed by the firſt diviſion of the left wing. And in this ſtate of the conflict let the commander diſpatch information unto me. Book II.

AND let him depend upon the arrival of my ſtandard, and reſting on the favour of Almighty God, advance himſelf upon the foe, and conſider me as preſent in the action. For when (by the favour of God) eight ſucceſſive ſhocks have been given to the ſtrength of the enemy, they muſt ſink under the ninth, and the victory be obtained.

AND it is the buſineſs of a general neither to be raſh nor precipitate; but to direct the operations of his troops *with firmneſs and preſence of mind.* And when he himſelf ſhall be obliged to enter into action, he muſt not, whilſt he can avoid it, give himſelf up to death: for the death of the general bringeth diſgrace upon the army, and encreaſeth the obſtinacy of the enemy.

THEREFORE it is the duty of a commander to ſhun temerity, and to act with deliberation and prudence: for temerity is the offspring of the devil. And let him alſo be careful that he venture not into a ſituation, out of which he cannot extricate himſelf and his army.

فــوج قراول

فوج هراول

فوج هراول برانغار　　　　فوج هراول جرانغار

اول فوج برانغار * دويم فوج برانغار　　اول فوج جرانغار * دويم فوج جرانغار

قــول

See Plate I.

تزوك صف ارايء افواج قاهره را چنين
بر بستم

امر نمودم كه اكر لشكر غنيم از دوازده
هزار سوار زياده باشد ليكن بچهل هزار نرسد يكي
از فرزندان كامكار سردار باشد ودو بيكلر بيكي
در ركاب وي با امراي وقشونات وتومانات والوسات
كه از چهل هزار سوار كمتر نباشند حاضر باشند

وافواج قاهره بايد كه مرا حاضر دانسته
سر رشته تدبير ومردي ومردانكي از دست ندهند

وامر نمودم كه چون پيشخانه اقبال
مرا بر آورند دوازده فوج معين نمايند وبر هريك
امیري از امراي الوسات مقرر باشد وتزك نمايند
تا دوازده تزكي كه در روش صف ارايء وافواج
شكني ودر آمد وبر آمد كه بر بسته ام در نظر داشته
باشد

† *Paiſhkhauneh* is the tent, or ſet of tents, of the prince; which on a march are ſent forward and erected againſt his arrival at every ſtage: i. e. there are two ſets of tents, and thoſe at the firſt ſtage, when ſtruck and ſent forward, are not unloaded at the ſecond, but proceed on to the third ſtage, and

وسردار

Book II.

THUS I FORMED REGULATIONS FOR THE ARRANGEMENT OF MY SUPERIOR ARMIES.

IF the forces of the enemy exceeded in number twelve thouſand horſemen, and were inferior in number to forty thouſand, I ordained that one of my fortunate ſons ſhould command againſt them; and that two Beglerbegs, and the Ameers, with the Toumaunaut, and the Kuſhoonaut, and the Auloofaut, in number not inferior to forty thouſand men, ſhould attend his command:

AND that the troops and the officers, who compoſed this victorious army, ſhould conſider me as preſent in the field, and give not forth from their hands their diſcipline, and their courage and their conduct.

AND I commanded, when my Paiſhkhauneh † was brought forth, that twelve bodies of troops ſhould be ordered out; and that an Ameer of the Ameers of the Auloofaut ſhould be appointed to each, and that they ſhould cauſe them to perform their exerciſes and evolutions; that they might keep before their eyes the TWELVE MILITARY REGULATIONS, ‡ which I had eſtabliſhed for forming, and for breaking the line of battle, and for advancing, and for retreating.

and are there pitched. And thus the tents at the ſecond ſtage are, when the prince departs, ſent on to the fourth ſtage, ſo that the two ſets are inhabited alternately.

‡ Theſe regulations are not in the MS, and therefore are ſuppoſed to have been omitted by the tranſcribers through ignorance or inattention.

HE

وسردار آن است که سرداران سپاه غنیم را بشمار در آورده در مقابل ایشان سرداران تعین نماید وسپاه جنکي غنیم را از اوقچي* وشمشبري ونیزه دار بنظر اعتبار در آورد ورفتار سپاه غنیم را ببیند که پیوسته وآهسته فوج فوج بمیدان جنک مي در آیند یا مغلوبه مي تازند وراه در آمدن وبر آمدن خودرا بمیدان جنک ملاحظه نماید وشیوه وروش جنک غنیم را در یابند

که کاه باشد که خودرا کم نمودار کنند وخودرا کریزان وا نمایند پس بمکر وکریز پاي ایشان فریفته نباید شد

وسردار جنک دیده وکار کرده آنست که بند وبست جنک را بفهمد که کدام فوج را کشاد باید داد وکدام رخنه را بتدبیر باید بر بست وچکونه باید جنک انداخت سردار آنست که اراده غنیم را بفهمد که بکدام روش بجنک مي در آید وراه همان شیوه ویرا بروي مسدود کرداند

سردار را است که بدین ترتیب چهل هزار سوار را چهارده فوج مرتب نماید

اول

He is a commander, who, numbering the chiefs of the forces of the enemy, appointeth proper chiefs in oppofition unto them ; and who confidereth with the eye of attention the veteran foldiers of the foe, the bow-men, and the fword-men, and the fpear-men ; and who obferveth the motions of the enemy, whether they advance into the field of battle flowly and in juft order, fquadron by fquadron, or whether they rufh forward in confufion ; who pre-examineth the approach to the field, and alfo the avenue of retreat ; and who penetrateth the order of the enemy's battle.

For it fhall fometimes come to pafs, that they will caufe their numbers to appear fmall, and put on the femblance of flight and difmay. A general therefore muft not permit himfelf to be deceived, and drawn into danger, by their pretended flight.

He is an able and experienced commander, who underftandeth the difcipline and the fcience of war, and who knoweth what divifion to fend forward to the charge, and what evil to remedy by his fkill, and what meafures to follow in attacking the enemy. He is a general who comprehendeth the intentions of the foe, and who obferveth their mode of attack, and counteracteth their motions and defigns.

The general who commands forty thoufand horfe, muft form them into fourteen fquadrons after this manner.

اول صف خودرا آراسته ساخته قول نام
نهد آنکاه سه فوج برانغار مرتب سازد ویکي از آن
سه فوج را هراول برانغار نام کند وسه فوج دیکر
جرنغار آراسته ساخته یک فوج را هراول جرانغار نام
کذارد
وهمچنین سه فوج دیکر در پیش افواج
برانغار مرتب ساخته چپاول نام نهد ویکي از آن سه
فوج را هراول چپاول کرداند
وهمین قسم سه فوج دیکر آراسته در پیش
افواج جرانغار مقرر داشته شقاول نام کند ویکي از
آن سه فوج را به هراولي شقاول تعین نماید
بعد از آن هراول بزرک را که در
مقابل قول مي باشد از اوقچیان وشمشیر داران
ونیزه داران وبهادران ازموده کار کرده را بوجه
پسندیده استحکام دهد که الغ* سورن انداخته همین
افواج هراول لشکر غنیم را شکست دهد

1 *Koul*; the main body.

2 *Burraunghaur*; the rear line of the right wing.

3 *Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur*; the advanced guard of the rear line of the right wing.

4 *Jurraunghaur*; the rear line of the left wing.

5 *Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur*; the advanced guard of the rear line of the left wing.

وسردار

FIRST, let him arrange his own line, and call it the Koul.[1] Let him afterwards form the Burraunghaur[2] with three ſquadrons; and let one of thoſe three ſquadrons be called the Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur.[3] And with three other ſquadrons let him form the Jurraunghaur;[4] and let him name one of thoſe ſquadrons the Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur.[5] Book II.

AND thus alſo let him form, and ſtation, three other ſquadrons in the front of the Burraunghaur, and call them the Chuppauwul.[6] And let him appoint one of thoſe ſquadrons the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul.[7]

AND in the ſame manner let him arrange three other ſquadrons, and form them in the front of the Jurraunghaur, and call them the Shuckauwul;[8] and let him nominate one of thoſe ſquadrons the Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul.[9]

AND let him afterwards form in perfect order the grand Hurrauwul,[10] which ſhall be poſted in the front of the Koul, from the bow-men, and the ſword-men, and the ſpear-men, and the warriors of proof: that theſe troops charging with loud ſhouts, may diſperſe and defeat the advanced guards of the enemy.

6 *Chuppauwul*; the front line of the right wing.

7 *Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul*; the advanced guard of the front line of the right wing.

8 *Shuckauwul*; the front line of the left wing.

9 *Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul*; the advanced guard of the front line of the left wing.

10 *Grand Hurrauwul*; grand vanguard.

AND

وسردارا است که نظر بر رفتار غنیم داشته باشد وهر امیر که بي حکم حرکت وتیز جلوي کند اورا تنبه نماید

وسردارا است که نظر بر در آمد وبر آمد غنیم داشته باشد ودر جنک انداختن اضطراب نکند تا آنکه غنیم بجنک مبادرت نماید وچون غنیم بجنک در آید سردارا است که روش جنک ایشانرا به بیند که بر چه کیفیت بمیدان جنک مي در آیند ومي بر آیند وچکونه بر ایشان حمله آرد اکر حمله آورده باز میکردند وقابو دیده رو بکریز میآورند وقابو دیده بر میکردند

وسردار را است که بدنبال غنیمي که خود بخود شکست خورده نرود که این چنین غنیم پشت کرم کومک خود باشد

وسردارا است که به بیند که اکر غنیم بمیدان مبادرت غنچه شده ترکتاز مي آرد ویا افواج چپ وراست خودرا کشاده است سردارا باید که اول هراول را بایشان رو برو کرداند وبجنک اندازد

ومتعاقب آن هراول چپاول وهراول شغاول را بمدد هراول کلان بفرستند واز عقب ایشان

AND it is the duty of the general to keep his eye on the motions of the foe, and to chaſtize thoſe officers under his command, who, without orders, preſume to advance upon the enemy.

AND it is the duty of the general to attend to the onſet of the enemy, and not to venture to attack them, until they advance to the charge. And when they advance, it is the duty of the general to examine their order of battle, in what manner they come into action, and in what manner they retire therefrom, and after what manner he ſhall engage them; whether they charge and retire, and, ſeeking advantage therein, put on the ſemblance of flight; and then, ſeizing a favourable criſis, rally and charge again.

AND it is the duty of a commander not to purſue the enemy who without cauſe flieth from the field: for ſuch an enemy may be well prepared for his defence.

AND it is the duty of the general to obſerve whether the enemy advance into the field of battle, and charge in an united body; or whether they commence the attack with the ſquadrons of their right and their left wings. Let the commander firſt oppoſe his Hurrauwul unto them, and puſh them on to the charge.

AND after them let him ſend forward the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul and the Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul to ſupport the grand Hurrauwul. And in the

ایشان فـوج اول چپاول وفـوج دوم شغاول را بجنگ
اندازد واز عقب ایشان فـوج دوم چپاول وفـوج اول
شغاول را براند

اگر باین هفت ضرب که بر غنیم آید
فتح نشود درین وقت هراول برانغار وهراول جرانغار را
بدواند تا آنکه نه ضرب بر غنیم وارد شود

واگر ازین نه ضرب فتح میسر نشود فوج
اول برانغار وفوج دوم جرانغار را بدواند

اگر باین یازده ضرب هم فتح روي
ننماید فوج دوم برانغار وفوج اول جرانغار را بجنگ
بفرستند امید چنانست که باین سیزده ضرب افـواج
غنیم شکسته شود وفتح میسر کردد

واگر احیانا باین سـیـزده ضرب فتح
حاصل نشود در این وقت سردار را است که افواج تول را
تزوک کرده روان شود وخودرا بمثال کوهي در نظر
غنیم نمودار کرداند وبآهستگي وپـیـوستي روان
کردد

وبهادران جنگي را بفرماید که بشمشیر
در آمده هجوم آورند واوچیان شبه تیر نمایند واکر
فتح

the rear of them, let him order into action the firſt ſquadron of the Chuppauwul and the ſecond ſquadron of the Shuckauwul, and after them the ſecond ſquadron of the Chuppauwul and the firſt of the Shuckauwul.

If from theſe ſeven ſhocks which the enemy ſhall have received, the victory be not obtained, let him at this period ſend forth the Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur and the Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur, until nine charges be made on the enemy's line.

And if victory followeth not from theſe nine ſhocks, let him ſend into battle the firſt ſquadron of the Burraunghaur and the ſecond ſquadron of the Jurraunghaur.

If by theſe eleven efforts alſo the victory be not decided, let him order to the charge the ſecond ſquadron of the Burraunghaur and the firſt of the Jurraunghaur. Thus it may be expected that by theſe thirteen ſucceſſive charges the lines of the enemy may be broken, and the glory of the day be acquired.

But if it ſhould come to paſs that the victory ſhould not be won by theſe thirteen attacks, it is at this criſis the duty of the general to form his Koul in exact order, and put them in motion. Let him ſhew himſelf as a lofty mountain to the eyes of the enemy, and move forward with ſlowneſs and regularity.

And let him direct his veteran bands to ruſh on the foe ſword in hand, and command his archers to gall the enemy with their arrows. And if the fate of

 the

فتح نشود سردار خود بجنگ قدم پیش گذارد ومنظر
رایات من باشد   ترتیب آراستن چهار ده فوج

هـراول

هراول چپاول   هراول شغاول

فوج اول چپاول* فوج دویم چپاول]   فوج اول شغاول* فوج دویم شغاول]

هراول برانغار   هراول جرانغار

فوج اول برانغار* فوج دویم برانغار]   فوج اول جرانغار* فوج دویم جرانغار]

تــول

See PLATE II; pag. 383.

وچنین

the day ſhould ſtill remain in ſuſpence, let the general himſelf advance into action and depend on the appearance of my victorious ſtandards. †

† This paſſage is unintelligible.

وچنین تزوک بر بستم که اگر غنیم از چهل هزار سوار زیاده باشد بیکلر بیکان وامرا ومینک باشیان ویوز باشیان واون باشیان وبهادران وسایر سپاه نظر بر رایات ظفر ایات من داشته باشند

وامر نمودم که به امیر هر فوج که یرلیغ فرستم مطابق حکم یرلیغ عمل نمایند واز آن تخلف نورزند وهر کس از بیکلر بیکان وامرا از حکم تخلف وتجاوز نماید ویرا بشمشیر بگذرانند وکوتل ویرا که منتظر الامارت باشد بجاي وي نصب کنند

وامر نمودم که از جملهء چهل اویماق الوسات وقشونات وتومانات دوازده اویماق که بتمغا رسیده اند بچهل فوج قسمت نمایند وامراي بیست وهشت اویماق را که به تمغا نرسیده اند در عقب فوج قول صف بر بندند وفرزندان ونبیرگان پیش دست راست قول افواج خودرا آراسته گردانند وخیشاوندان وقرابتان پیش دست چپ قول افواج خودرا

THUS also I ordained, that if the enemy should in number exceed forty thousand horse-men, that the eyes of the Beglerbegs, and the Ameers, and the Mingbaushees, and the Euzbaushees, and the Ounbaushees, and the select warriors, and the soldiers in general should be fixed on my victorious standards. †

AND I commanded, that the chief of every squadron to whom I issued my orders, should act conformably to the tenour of those orders, and presume not to deviate therefrom; and that every one of the Beglerbegs, and the Ameers, who was tardy in performing, or disobeyed, the orders which I sent unto him, should be instantly put to death; and that his Kotul, who is the expecter of promotion, should be appointed to his command.

AND I ordained, that from among the forty Ouyemauk of the Aloosaut, the Kushoonaut, and Toumaunaut, that the twelve Ouyemauk who had obtained the Tumghau, ‡ should be divided into forty squadrons; and that the Ameers of the twenty eight Ouyemauk who had not obtained the Tumghau, should form their line in the rear of the Koul; and that my sons and my grandsons should draw up their forces before the right of the Koul; and that my relations and my kindred, with the troops under their command, should take their station

† i.e. That he would lead them in person.

‡ Those who received military pay.

before

خودرا مراتب دارند که افواج ایشان طرح باشد که بهر
چا مدد باید رسانید کومک نمایند

ودر برانغار شش فوج مقرر نمایند ویک
فوج دیکر هراول برانغار مقرر باشد وهمچنین در
جرانغار شش فوج آراسته یک فوج دیکر بهراولي
جرانغار مقرر دارند

وهمچنین امر نمودم که شش فوج در
پیش افواج برانغار مقرر کردانند وآنرا چپاول نام کذارند
ویک فوج دیکررا آراسته هراول چپاول کنند

وهمچنین در پیش افواج جرانغار شش
فوج معین نمایند وشغاول نام نهند یک فوج آراسته
دیکر هراول شغاول کردانند

ودر پیش افواج چپاول وشغاول شش
فوج از امراي کار کرده وبهادران ازموده آراسته ساخته
هراول بزورک مقرر کردانند

ویک فوج سواي این شش فوج هراول
مقرر کرده پیشتر معین دارند وهراول هراول نام
کنند

ودو

before the left of the Koul; and that those troops should be bodies of reserve, and that they should dispatch succour to every quarter, where re-inforcement should be wanted:

AND that six squadrons should constitute the Burraunghaur, and that one other squadron should be appointed the Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur: and thus also, that six squadrons should form the Jurraunghaur; and that one other squadron should be nominated the Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur.

AND thus also I ordained, that six squadrons should be posted in the front of the Burraunghaur, and that they should be denominated the Chuppauwul; and that one other squadron should be formed, and appointed the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul:

AND that in the same manner six other squadrons should be stationed in the front of the Jurraunghaur; and that they should be called the Shuckauwul; and that one other chosen squadron should be appointed the Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul.

AND I ordained that six other squadrons, headed by distinguished Ameers, and composed of warriors of proof and experience, should be advanced before the Chuppauwul and the Shuckauwul; and that they should be called the grand Hurrauwul:

AND that one other squadron, over and above those six squadrons, should be posted in their front; and be denominated the Hurrauwul a Hurrauwul:

AND

ودو قـراول بـيكي را با جماعه برادران
بر دست راست وچپ هراول مقرر نمايند كه
ديدبان لشكر غنيم باشند

وامر نمودم كه امراي افـواج چهلكانه
ما دام كه يرليغ من بايشان نرسد بجنك در نيآيند
وتا نوبت جنك بايشان نرسد دست برد ننمايند ليكن
مستعد وآماده جنك باشند

وچـون حكم جنك بايشان برسد روش
غنيم را ديده بجنك در آيند كه غنيم از كدام راه
بجنك مي در آيد آن راه را بر ايشان بر بندند وهر
راهي كه غنيم بر بندد آنرا به تدبـير بكشايند

وامر نمودم كه چون هـراول هـراول
بجنك مبادرت نمايد امير هـراول افـواج ششكانه
خودرا متعاقب يكديكر بجنك اندازد كه چون شش
ضرب

AND that two Kurrauwul Beghs, † with detachments of their brotherhood, ſhould be poſted to the right and to the left of the Hurrauwul a Hurrauwul; and that they ſhould be the Deedbaun ‡ on the army of the enemy.

AND I ordained that no one of the commanders of the forty ſquadrons, until he received orders from me, ſhould preſume to enter into battle; and that until the moment of his ſervice arrived, he ſhould not move from his ſtation; and that he ſhould ſtand ready and prepared for action:

AND when he received orders to engage, that he ſhould accommodate his mode of attack to that of the enemy; and that he ſhould obſerve in what manner the foe advanced into battle, and counteract his deſigns; and that he ſhould, by ſkilful and judicious diſpoſitions, carry into effect ſuch of his own movements as had been traverſed by the enemy.

AND I ordained, when the Hurrauwul a Hurrauwul began the action, that the leader of the grand Hurrauwul ſhould order his ſix ſquadrons to charge ſucceſſively; that by ſix ſhocks, repeatedly given, the enemy may be broken and thrown into confuſion. It

† *Kurrauwul Beghs*; chiefs of the light troops or ſcouts.

‡ *Deedbaun*; obſervers, people appointed to reconoitre the motions of the enemy.

 is

ضرب مرتبه بمرتبه بر غنیم زده شود بهم بر آیند
وشکسته شوند دربن وقت امیر چپاول را است که شش
فوج خودرا دفعه بدفعه بکومک فرستد وخود هم
ترکتاز آورد

وهمچنین امیر افواج شغاول فوجهاي
ششگانه خودرا بعدد افواج پیش روانه سازد وخودرا
هم برساند که بحول الله وقوته چون هژده ضرب
بر غنیم زده آید شکسته وگسیخته کردند

واگر با وجود خوردن این ضربها غنیم
خیرگي نماید امیر برانغاررا باید که هراول خودرا
براند وامیر جرانغار نیز هراول خودرا بدواند

چون این هر دو هراول از چپ وراست
در آیند لشکر غنیم البته بي تاب ونا توان کردد

واگر غنیم خیره باشد امیر برانغار وامیر
جرانغار افواج خودرا مرتبه بمرتبه بر غنیم برانند واگر
بینند که افواج غنیم را از افواج قاهره شکستي
نرسیده امیران برانغار وجرانغار خودها متوجه دفع
ورفع دشمنان شوند

واگر

is at this crifis the duty of the leader of the Chuppauwul to detach his fix fquadrons one after the other to fupport the grand Hurrauwul; and afterwards to advance, himfelf, to the charge. Book II.

AND in the fame manner alfo, let the commander of the Shuckauwul pufh forward fucceffively his fix fquadrons to reinforce thofe who are engaged; and laftly let the commander himfelf advance into action. Thus, by the power and affiftance of Almighty God, when eighteen charges fhall have been made on the line of the enemy, they will break and difperfe.

BUT if notwithftanding thofe fhocks received by the foe, they fhould continue refolute and firm, it is then the duty of the chief of the Burraunghaur to difpatch forward his Hurrauwul, and of the leader of the Jurraunghaur to fend forth his Hurrauwul alfo.

WHEN thofe two Hurrauwuls advance and charge on the right and on the left of the enemy, their order and their ftrength fhall certainly be broken.

BUT if it fhould come to pafs that the foe ftill continues firm, let the leaders of the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur order their fquadrons fucceffively on to the charge. And if they fee that the enemy give not way to the efforts of the imperial forces, the leaders of the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur muft themfelves advance, and rufh upon the foe.

واکر در این وقت امیران برانغار وجرانغار
زبونی نمایند امیر زادکانی که طرح برانغار اند
وخویشاوندان که طرح جرانغار اند بر غنیم ترکتاز
آورند

وباید که نظر ایشان بر سردار وعلم
سردار باشد وبشجاعت ومردی صف شکن غنیم
کردند وقصد کرفتن سردار نمایند وکوشش
کنند که علم مخالفانرا نکونسار کردانند

واکر با وجود این ضربها غنیم قایم
بوده باشد در این وقت باید که افواج متفرقه وبهادران
قول وافواج الوساتي که در عقب قول آراسته شده
بودند بیک مرتبه هجوم آورده ترکتاز نمایند

واکر در این وقت فتح نشود سلطان را
است که خود با دل قوي وهمت بلند در حرکت آید

چنانچه من در جنک قیصر کردم
که بامیر زاده میران شاه که سردار
دست راست بود امر نمودم که از دست چپ قیصر
سرکن پرکن در آید وبامیر زاده سلطان محمود
خان وامیر سلیمان که امیران دست چپ بودند
یرلیغ فرستادم که بر دست راست قیصر هجوم آورند
وبامیر

AND if at this period the commanders of the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur ſhew themſelves deficient in their duty, the royal princes, and thoſe related to the imperial family, who are the reſerves of the Burraunghaur and of the Jurraunghaur, muſt advance to the aſſault.

AND they muſt keep their eyes on the commander and the ſtandard of the commander, and preſs upon the foe with valour and intrepidity. They muſt endeavour to ſeize the general of the hoſtile army; and they muſt ſtrive to invert the ſtandard of the ſoe.

AND if, notwithſtanding theſe ſhocks, the enemy ſtill remain firm and unmoved, the royal guards, and the ſelect warriors of the Koul, and the forces of the Ouyemauk, which were formed in the rear of the Koul, muſt ruſh forward, together and at once, to the charge.

AND if at this period the victory be not decided, it is the duty of the emperor, with fortitude of heart and with exalted reſolution, to put himſelf and the Koul of his army into motion.

THUS I acted in my engagement with Keeſur. I commanded the Ameer Zaudeh Meeraun Shaah, who was the leader of the right wing of my forces, to charge headlong on the left of Keeſur. And I ſent orders to Ameer Zaudeh Sooltaun Muhmood Khaun, and to Ameer Soolamaun, who commanded my left wing, to attack the right of Keeſur.

AND

وبامبیسر زاده ابو بکر که امیر فوج طرح دست راست بود حکم کردم که بر قول ایلدرم بایزید که بر پشته ایستاده بود ترکتاز آورد ومن خود با افواج قول ولشکرهای اویماق روي همت بطرف قیصر آوردم

ودر حمله اول شکست بر افواج قیصر افتاد وسلطان محمود خان بتعاقب قیصر شتافته ویرا دست گیر کرده بدرگاه حاضر آورد وتوتنمش خان را نیز بهمین تزوکات شکست دادم وفرمودم که علم ویرا نکونسار گردانیدند

واگر غنیم قزاقي* کرده افواج چپاول وشغاول وبرانغار وجرانغاررا بر هم زند وخودرا بفوج قول رساند سلطان را واجب است که پای شجاعت در رکاب صبر مستحکم گردانیده متوجه دفع ورفع غنیم شود

وچنانچه من در جنک شاه منصور کردم که خودرا بمن رسانید بذات خود رو برو شدم تا آنکه بر خاک هلاک افتاد

ترتیب آراستن چهل فوج از لشکر دوازده ویهاتي که به تمغا رسیده اند

AND I iſſued directions to the Ameer Zaudeh Aboo Bukkur, who led the reſerve of the right, to advance upon the Koul of Yeldurrum Bauezeed, † who was poſted on an eminence: and laſtly I myſelf, with the forces of the Koul and the Ouyemauk, turned the face of reſolution toward mine enemy. Book II.

THE armies of Keeſur were defeated, and put to flight at the firſt onſet. And Sooltaun Muhmood purſued the vanquiſhed Keeſur; and he made him my priſoner, and he brought him to the royal tent. By this diſpoſition alſo I conquered Touktummiſh Khaun, and cauſed his ſtandard to be inverted.

IF the enemy ſhould become formidable, and throw into diſorder the Chuppauwul, and the Shuckauwul, and the Burraunghaur, and the Jurraunghaur, and ſhould advance to charge the Koul; it is then the duty of the emperor to conduct himſelf with courage and with fortitude, and to proceed to repel and diſperſe the foe.

THUS I acted in the engagement with Shaah Munſoor, who penetrated even to the Koul of my army. I oppoſed him in my own perſon, face to face, until he fell lifeleſs on the plain.

THE PLAN OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF FORTY SQUADRONS, FORMED FROM THE TWELVE OUYEMAUK WHO HAD OBTAINED THE TUMGHAU.

† Bajazet.

قراول دست راست — قراول دست چپ

هـــراول

فوج اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم

هراول چپاول — هراول شغاول

چپاول — شغاول

اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم] — اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم]

هراول برانغار — هراول جرانغار

برانغار — جرانغار

اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم] — اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم]

فوج امیرزاده ها — فوج خویشاوندان

قـــول

بـیست وهشت اویماق که بتمغا

نرسیده اند

تـم

F I N I S.

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OF

PERSONS AND PLACES.

N.B. *m.* ſignifies *mentioned.*

 INVITED

B.

BOULAU

MECCA,

T.

TIMOUR

U.

Y.

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OF THE

PRINCIPAL MATTERS.

Burraun-

Council,

D.

H.

Kulluck.

R.

teachers

W.

Y.

The Names of the principal Perſons and Places mentioned in this Work, according to the different Orthography of Mr. DAVY, and Monſ. PETIS DE LA CROIX; accommodated to the Uſe of thoſe who wiſh to compare the different Accounts.

LA CROIX.		MR. DAVY.
	A.	
Abbas	——	Ubbaus.
Abouhecre	——	Aboo Bukkur.
Akitimur	——	Eekoo Timour.
Aleppo	——	Hullub.
Ali	——	Aali.
Anatolia	——	Room.
Azad	——	Auzaud.
Azerbijane	——	Azzurbauejaun.
	B.	
Bagdad	——	Bughdaud.
Bajazet	——	Keefur.
Balc	——	Bullukh.
Barcoc	——	Burkook.
Bedakchan	——	Buddukſhaun.
Bei	——	Begh.
Berlas	——	Burlaus.
Bocara	——	Bokhaura.
	C.	
Cabul	——	Kaubul.
Cabulchah	——	Kaubul Shaah.
Cachmir	——	Kuſhmeer.
Can	——	Khaun.

LA CROIX.		MR. DAVY.
Candahar	——	Kundahaur.
Cannoudge	——	Kunnouj.
Capchac	——	Kipjauk.
Cara	——	Kurrau.
Carezm	——	Khauruzm.
Carſchi	——	Kurſhee.
Caratchar	——	Kurrauchaur.
Catlan	——	Khuttulaun.
Cazagan	——	Kurgun.
Cazanchi	——	Kurraunchee.
Cayafeddin	——	Gheaus u deen.
Chahmanſour	——	Shaah Munſoor.
Charoc	——	Shaarokh.
Cheik	——	Sheikh.
Chekidgek	——	Chuckchuck.
Chir	——	Share.
Chiras	——	Sharauze.
Chirkunt	——	Sharekund.
Chirouan	——	Shurwaun.
Cogende	——	Khojjund.
Coja	——	Khaujeh.
Condoz	——	Kunduz.
Coraſſane	——	Khorauſaun.
Cotan	——	Khuttun.
Cotluc	——	Kuttulug.
	D.	
Damaſcus	——	Dummiſhk.

Deli

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Deli	—	Dehli.
Diarbekir	—	Deaur a Bukkur.

E.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Egypt	—	Missur.
Elias	—	Ouleaus.
Emessa	—	Hums.
Emir	—	Ameer.
Enderabe	—	Anduraub.
Erlat	—	Aurlaut.

F.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Fars	—	Fauris.

G.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Gehanghir	—	Jehaungheer.
Gelair	—	Jullauir.
Georgia	—	Goorjistaun.
Gete	—	Jitteh.
Ghengis Can	—	Chungauze Khaun.
Gihon	—	Jihoon.

H.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Hadgi	—	Haujee.
Herat	—	Hurraut.
Houlacou Can	—	Hullaukoo Khaun
Hussein	—	Hoossein.

I.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Irac Agemi	—	Erauk a Ajjum.
Irac Arabi	—	Erauk a Arrub
Ispahan	—	Isfahaun.

K.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Kech	—	Kush.
Kei Cosru	—	Ki Khissero.
Kerbela	—	Kurbullau.
Ketuer	—	Kuttoor.
Kirman	—	Kurmaun.
Kivac	—	Khiook.

M.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Macan	—	Maukhaun.
Mahmoud	—	Muhmud.
Mahomet	—	Mahummud.
Malatia	—	Mulluteah.
Malek	—	Mullik.
Mazenderan	—	Mauzinduraun.
Mellou Can	—	Mulloo Khaun.
Mir	—	Ameer.
Miranchah	—	Meeraun Shaah.
Mirza	—	Ameer Zaudeh.
Mobarekchah	—	Mubbauruk Shaah
Moussa	—	Moosi.
Muaid	—	Muviud.

N.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Nevian	—	Nooyaun.

O.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Oladgia Itou	—	Aljauitoo.
Olagiai	—	Aljaiè.
Olatchou	—	Aulaujou.
Oluc	—	Allugh.
Oughanian	—	Afghaun, and Oughaun.
Ourous Can	—	Auroos Khaun.
Oxus	—	Jihoon.

P.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Poulad	—	Boulau.

S.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Saddic	—	Suddeuk.

Samarcande

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
Samarcande	——	Summurkund.
Sebaſte	——	Seewaus.
Sultan	——	Sooltaun.
Syria	——	Shaum.
	T.	
Tauris	——	Tubburaze.
Tekil	——	Tukkul.
Termed	——	Turmuz.
Timur	——	Timour.
Timur Bec	——	Abu'l Munſoor Timour, and Ameer Timour.
Tocatmich	——	Touktummiſh.
Tocluc	——	Tughulluk.
Touchi	——	Jouji.
Tranſoxiane	——	Mauwur u Nuhur.

La Croix.		Mr. Davy.
	U.	
Uzbec	——	Ouzbuk.
	V.	
Veli	——	Aali.
	Y.	
Yakou	——	Jaukoo.
Youſef	——	Euſoof.
	Z.	
Zagataie	——	Chugtauee.

SPECIMENS

OF

COMPOSITION

IN THE

PERSIAN LANGUAGE

See the PREFACE.

The Exordium of JAUMI's Poem, entitled, *Eusoof* and *Zoolleikha.*

IN the name of him whose name is the refuge of the Souls
of the faithful;
Whose praise is the ornament of eloquent tongues.
The most high, the only God, the eternal, the omniscient;
He who bestoweth strength and *power* on the feeble *and the helpless.*
The heavens he illumines with multitudes of constellations;
And with the human race he decorateth the earth, as with stars.
He who prepared the vaulted roof of the revolving sphere,
Who raised up the quadruple fold of the elements.
He who gives fragrance to the bosom of the rose-bud,
And ornamenteth the parent-shrub with wreaths of flowers.
He weaveth the garment for the brides of the spring,
And teacheth the graceful cypress to erect his head on the border *of the lake.*
He crowneth with success the virtuous intention,
And humbleth the pride of the self-conceited.
He accompanies the solitude of those who watch the midnight *taper*;
He passeth the day with the children of affliction.
From the sea of his bounty issues the vernal cloud,
Which waters alike the thorn and the jessamine.

From

From the repoſitory of his beneficence proceeds the autumnal gale,
Which beſpangles with gold the carpet of the garden.
It is his preſence that enflameth the orb of day,
From whence every atom derives its light.
Should he hide his countenance from the two great luminaries of the world,
Their *mighty* ſpheres would deſcend quick into the area of annihilation.
From the vault of heaven to the centre of the earth,
Which ever way we direct our thought and imagination;
Whether we deſcend, or haſten upwards,
We ſhall not diſcover one atom uninfluenced by his power.
Wiſdom is confounded in the contemplation of his eſſence;
The inveſtigation of his ways exceeds the powers of man.
The angels bluſh at their want of comprehenſion;
And the heavens are aſtoniſhed at their own motion.

A PRAYER directed by the BRAHMINS to be offered up to the Supreme Being; written originally in the *Shanſcrit* Language, and tranſlated by C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE, Eſq; from a Perſic Verſion of *Dara Shekoo*, a Son of *Shah Jehan*, Emperor of Hindoſtan.

O RUDER, I reverence thee in thy Majeſty and in thy Diſpleaſure. I reverence thy Arrows, which convey deſtruction; and thy bow, thy quiver, and thy arms, which are the givers of victory. Look toward me with that countenance of benignity, mild like the face of the moon, by which thou beſtoweſt joy, and doeſt away all ſins.

O THOU, who art the Lord of mighty mountains, diſpel the pains of all mankind; make them joyful and defend them from harm: and grant that I may remain ſecure under thy guardianſhip and protection. Thou art the great Phyſician of Phyſicians! heal thou my infirmities; diſperſe my vicious and malevolent inclinations, which lead me into the road of evil.

I REVE-

I REVERENCE thee in the Sun, which is thy Image, whilst it ſcatters a hundred thouſand vivifying rays over the univerſe whilſt in meridian brightneſs it diffuſes gladneſs; nor leſs when at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes thy anger. Turn away that anger from me. I reverence him who is the ſource of joy to living creatures, whoſe nature is exempt from decay, and knows not the increaſe of age. — To Him and all that ſprings from Him I owe reverence and honour.

O RUDER, ſtring thy bow to defend me from all my open or ſecret enemies. Shoot the arrows of thy quiver to deſtroy them. When thou haſt deſtroyed my enemies and unſtrung thy bow, and taken off the points of thy arrows, and art rejoiced; then grant that I likewiſe may rejoice. But thy bow is not like other bows, nor thy arrows like other arrows. Thou needeſt not to ſtring the bow, nor to ſharpen the points of arrows. Thou needeſt not the ſword like other ſwords, to accompliſh thy purpoſes. O thou who canſt fulfil deſires, whoſe deſigns no enemy can baffle, guard and protect me on every ſide, and drive my enemies far from me.

O RUDER, thy arm is like ſhining gold. Thou art the Lord of all armies. All cauſes of things have their origin in thee. Thou art the cauſe of cauſes. Thou art ſpace. The verdure of the fields is thine. Thou art Lord of all the beaſts, and the birds, and other living creatures. Thou art the Guide. Every light that ſhines is thy light. Thou entereſt into all: thou ſuſtaineſt all.

O PUNISHER of thoſe who go aſtray, O Lord of life, O pureſt of Beings! terrify not thy creatures, ſtrike them not, deſtroy them not: nor let even one of them ſuffer pain from thee. O thou, who giveſt ſtrength to the feeble, and medicines to the ſick; grant me thy ſupport, that I may enjoy health and live.

live. O RUDER, turn my underſtanding toward thee, for thou art the Lord of power. I beſeech thee to keep all creatures which belong to me, whether man or beaſt, in quiet and ſecurity. Preſerve all the inhabitants of this city. Afflict them not with ſickneſs: do thou, RUDER, give them health, and drive diſeaſes far from them. We all come before thee in ſupplication. Grant unto us all thoſe bleſſings, which our fathers aſked of thee for us, when they were deſirous of bringing us into exiſtence. Old men, and young children, and infants yet unborn, all join in ſacrifice and prayer unto thee. O thou, who art ever young and mighty, thou ſource of joy, be gracious toward me. O thou, who wanteſt nothing, who art worthy of adoration, I reverence thee. O thou, who employeſt thy arms for my ſecurity, who haſt thouſands of thouſands of weapons; ſcatter my enemies, and deſtroy them: for thou, RUDER, art ſupreme in every part of nature. Exert for my protection thy powers, which are over the earth, the air, and the heavens, and under the earth: which ſhew themſelves in the plains, in the vegetation of the trees, in the various ſpecies of living creatures, in the waters, and in food provided for the ſupport of life. Thou, who deſtroyeſt all which eat the food and drink the waters; who art amidſt the guardians of the highways and in the places of worſhip; in all thou art the infinite RUDER: in every one I implore thee to protect me, and to diſarm my enemies. To thee, and all thy other various powers and attributes not here enumerated, I offer reverence. Ten times toward the Eaſt, ten times toward the South, ten times toward the Weſt, and ten times toward the North, I bow myſelf before thy earthly powers, and invoke their aid that I may enjoy health and ſee the deſtruction of my enemies. Ten times toward the Eaſt, ten times toward the South, ten times toward the Weſt, ten times toward the North, and ten times with my eyes on Heaven above, I bow myſelf before thy aerial and heavenly powers, whoſe arrows are the wind and rain: I invoke their aid, that

I may

I may enjoy health, and ſee the deſtruction of my enemies. Every one of theſe is RUDER; whoſe infinite power I reverence: RUDER, whoſe fullneſs is in all. All that has been, it is He. All that is, it is He. All that ſhall be, it is He.

The foregoing Prayer is extracted from the Judger Bede: *to which it may be curious to ſubjoin a Deſcription of* RUDER, *to whom it is addreſſed, as contained in another ſacred Book, intitled the* Atherbun Bede.

THE Angels having aſſembled themſelves in Heaven before RUDER, made obeiſance and aſked him, O RUDER, what art thou? RUDER replied, were there any other, I would deſcribe myſelf by ſimilitude. I always was, I always am, and always ſhall be. There is no other, ſo that I can ſay to you, I am like Him. In this Me is the inward eſſence, and the exterior ſubſtance of all things. I am the primitive cauſe of all. All things that exiſt in the Eaſt, or Weſt, or North, or South, above or below, it is I. I am all. I am older than all. I am King of Kings. My attributes are tranſcendent. I am truth. I am the ſpirit of creation; I am the Creator. I am the knowledge of the four BEDES.* I am Almighty. I am purity. I am the firſt, and the middle, and the end. I am the light. And for this purpoſe do I exiſt, that whoſoever knows Me, may know all the angels, and all books, and all their ordinances. And whoſoever knows the learning of the Bedes, from thence he will learn the duties of life, he will underſtand truth, and his actions will be virtuous. And to thoſe who practiſe virtue, will I give fullneſs and tranquillity.

RUDER having pronounced theſe words to the Angels, was abſorbed in his own brightneſs.

* The ſacred Writings of the Hindoos in the *Shanſcrit* language.

THE foregoing Specimens I intended to have introduced by an Eſſay of ſome extent on the great importance and utility of the Perſian *Language, and by a Propoſal for eſtabliſhing a* Perſian *Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of Oxford. But having ſince met with a pamphlet of much merit, written ſome years ago by Governor* HASTINGS, *directed to the ſame object, I have thought it unneceſſary to proſecute my deſign.*

Whilſt I was engaged in writing the intended Eſſay *and* Propoſal, *I received from Mr.* DAVY, *in anſwer to my repeated enquiries, the following* LETTER: *which places the importance of the* Perſian *Language for tranſacting the Company's affairs in* India, *in ſo clear and juſt a light; is founded throughout on ſuch ſtriking facts; and ſupported and illuſtrated with ſo many judicious obſervations and remarks; that I conceived it to be highly worthy the attention of the* Eaſt India Company, *and of the Gentlemen in their ſervice. Impreſſed with this idea, notwithſtanding I afterwards relinquiſhed my original deſign, I determined, if poſſible, to lay the Letter before the Public: but as it was communicated for my private uſe only, Mr.* DAVY'*s approbation was neceſſary for the purpoſe; which, at my particular ſolicitation, he has been pleaſed to grant.*

Gloucester, Sept. 24. 1779.

MY GOOD FRIEND,

IN compliance with your repeated applications, I have at length taken up my pen, with a determination to reply as fully as poſſible to all your Enquiries.

"I CANNOT communicate any "important facts of times or places, when and where a want of knowledge of the Perſian in the ſervants of the Company has been attended with particular diſadvantage to their affairs *in a political point of view*:" one only, ſupported by proof, occurs to my memory, of which I ſhall ſhortly take notice. Such facts, in their full extent at leaſt, have not lately exiſted; becauſe, for ſome years paſt, a a few gentlemen have been found tolerably well qualified to act as Perſian interpreters in the tranſaction of the Company's more important concerns with the native Powers. That ſuch facts did formerly exiſt, is certain; and that the want of ſuch knowledge now would be attended with ſtill worſe effects is as certain. To prove which, I think, you will meet with little difficulty. The ſame reaſons which will eſtabliſh the authority of the fore-going obſervations, will moreover be ſufficient to prove the poſitive neceſſity of a ſtill more extenſive and general knowledge of the Perſian, than has hitherto been acquired by the gentlemen in India.

" WE are to consider, that the territories now under the dominion of the East India Company, the provinces of *Bengal* and *Bahar*, with part of *Orissa*, the coast of *Coromandel*, and the settlements on that of *Malabar*, are together twice as extensive as Great Britain and Ireland. In a word, such is their extent, and such their importance, that it has been deemed necessary to keep on foot an army of fifty thousand disciplined men for their defence and protection: for that is the amount of the forces of the three establishments, *Bengal, Madrass*, and *Bombay*. These rich and fertile territories, except where embraced by the ocean, are separated and surrounded by native independent Princes and Powers, some of them exceedingly formidable. It follows, that dominions so extensive and so situated, must be secured and protected as much by policy as by arms: a vast political system must be established; an exact and perfect balance of power must be preserved; the weak must be supported, the too powerful must be circumscribed and depressed. For these purposes Friendships, Alliances, and Treaties, must be formed with some in opposition to others; and these Alliances, Treaties, and Friendships, must again be dissolved, and give way to others, as the strength, influence, and resources of the different independent Princes of the Empire may be diminished or increased. Hence the everlasting train of conferences, correspondences, and negotiations, with the native Powers. Hence the necessity of watching their motions, discovering their hidden strength and resources, and diving into their secret councils, connections, and alliances. These are all businesses of the first importance; they require the strictest integrity, and the most profound secrecy in the negotiators: and finally, these businesses are all to be transacted in, and by the assistance of, the Persian tongue.

" MR. ORME, a very accurate and able historian, whose long residence in India enabled him to acquire a perfect knowledge

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of the ſubject, gives a very ſtriking inſtance of the fatal conſequences that may enſue from employing native interpreters in our tranſactions with the princes of Hindoſtan; and judiciouſly points out the poſitive neceſſity of entruſting the execution of ſuch important concerns to European gentlemen only *. Nothing indeed can be more abſurd or dangerous, than for the government in India to rely on the honour and integrity of natives for the tranſaction of ſuch weighty, political matters, as I have pointed out; and more eſpecially to confide in that inferior claſs of them, who are content to bear the yoke of ſervitude under a foreign power from neceſſity, or pecuniary motives. Such are all the native ſervants to Europeans. But that natives of a ſuperior rank are not altogether proof againſt the influence of gold, I have met with ſeveral inſtances. A very ſtrong evidence of the above aſſertion I have now in my poſſeſſion; namely, exact copies of all the Letters wrote by the reigning Mogul, *Shaab Aulum*, in the years 71, 72, 73, to the ſeveral independent Princes of the Empire. Theſe copies were regularly tranſmitted by one of the King's confidential ſecretaries, and often came into my poſſeſſion, before the perſons to whom they were ſent could receive the originals. By this means the councils, negotiations, and intrigues of the court of Dehli, and of others, the native Powers and Princes of Hindoſtan, were entirely laid open to our inſpection. This happened during the period that I had the honour to fill the poſt of Perſian Secretary to SIR ROBERT BARKER, the then commander in chief of the forces of *Bengal.* The above, I think, is a ſtrong and pointed proof: and it follows, that European gentlemen only can, in prudence and in policy, be entruſted with this important buſineſs; and that a partial knowledge of the Perſian Language is by no means ſufficient to qualify even them to be truſted. To be able ſimply to converſe in the Perſian, is a very inade-

* Vide Hiſt. of the Military Tranſactions of the Britiſh Nation in Hindoſtan. Vol. I. p. 350, &c.

quate

quate degree of knowledge. A Perſian interpreter ſhould not only be able to ſpeak fluently in the Language, but to read all ſuch Letters as he may receive; not only to read all ſuch Letters, but to anſwer them with his own hand, if the importance of the ſubject, of which they treat, ſhould render it neceſſary. Otherwiſe the ſecret negotiations and correſpondence of government are liable to be made public through the medium of the native *Munchees*, or Writers, whom he will be obliged to employ and truſt. Some natives he muſt have, to aſſiſt in the ordinary buſineſs, from its great multiplicity; but even this, by a proper encouragement of the ſtudy of the Language, might be obviated. Junior ſervants, when qualified, might be appointed to act under their Seniors, and the natives be totally excluded. And ſuch a Plan, I am convinced, would be productive of much advantage.

"FROM the foregoing hints, I dare ſay, you will be able to prove, that the ſtudy of the Perſian, in a political point of view, is highly worthy of encouragement.

"THE general ſtudy of this valuable Language, abſtracted from all political views, is a matter of very great importance to the Eaſt India Company. How it is poſſible that their civil ſervants ſhould be able to do their duty effectually in the various poſts and offices to which they are appointed, without any knowledge of it, is difficult to conceive. That by far the greater number of them do perform the buſineſſes allotted to them without a knowledge of any of the country Languages, is certain; but that the manner in which they perform them muſt be exceedingly defective, every one will be convinced, by reflecting on the nature of the offices which they fill. Servants of all ranks * are detached from the preſidency, and ſpread

* By theſe are meant Writers, Factors, junior and ſenior Merchants, and in the more important departments, often members of the Council: but theſe laſt are generally aſſiſted by European Interpreters.

abroad

abroad throughout the provinces and diſtricts of the Company's territories, for the purpoſes of ſuperintending the cultivation and regulation of the countries, the adminiſtration of juſtice in the *Kucheries*, or native courts of Judicature, and the collection of the Revenues *. Many alſo are appointed to the different Factories, to ſuperintend the fabrication and making up of the Inveſtments for the European market.

" Having given this detail of the employments, to which the ſenior and junior civil ſervants of the Company are in rotation appointed, I think it will be needleſs to dwell on the great utility, and indeed abſolute neceſſity of a knowledge of ſome language or other, underſtood in the country, to gentlemen ſo employed †; or to ſhew how much more effectually they would be able, with ſuch knowledge, to do their duty, than they can now through the medium of their *Surcors*, or native Clerks ‡, to whom, from an ignorance of the language, they are obliged, in a great meaſure, to delegate their authority, to pay an implicit attention to their advice and opinions, and, what is ſtill worſe, from the above deficiency, to receive through them every complaint and grievance of the ſubject; though the complaints are frequently levelled againſt thoſe very Agents,

* It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that this arrangement took place but a very few years ago; and therefore the importance of the Perſian in the point of view now under conſideration, is to be dated from that period only.

† It is true, that *in Bengal*, but in Bengal only, an acquaintance with the dialect of that province, might be made to anſwer the purpoſes of gentlemen employed as above-mentioned: but as that dialect would be of very little uſe to them, even in the neighbouring province of Bahar, much leſs in any other part of Hindoſtan; as the Perſian, on the contrary, is the polite language throughout the Empire; and as it is impoſſible to acquire a knowledge of that, without forming, at the ſame time, a familiar acquaintance with the *Moors*, from the intimate connection between them; and as the *Moors* is the vulgar tongue of all the Mahummudan natives, and is as well known to the generality of the Aborigines or Hindoos, as to the Mahummudans themſelves; for theſe reaſons it is evident, that the Perſian is moſt worthy the attention of Europeans.

‡ The *Surcors* are all Hindoos; and by ſome little knowledge of the Engliſh, which they are careful to acquire, are enabled to act as Interpreters to the gentlemen who employ them.

and

and the grievances complained of generally originate from their knavery, avarice, and extortion.

"TRUE it is, that in *Bengal*, the Dialect bearing that name is now moſt frequently uſed in the tranſacting of mercantile concerns; but it does not follow, that the Perſian language, and that of Hindoſtan (vulgarly called the *Moors*) are therefore entirely ſuperfluous: on the contrary, I conceive it to be eaſy to prove, that if the Company's civil ſervants were generally acquainted with the Perſian, they would find themſelves enabled to fill every department in which they could poſſibly be placed, without the aſſiſtance of any medium whatever.

"IN a *private commercial light* alſo, I think, much may be ſaid in its favour. Individuals, ſuch as could find leiſure to ſtudy the language, would reap a ſingular advantage from the knowledge of it. In the weſtern provinces of Hindoſtan, though not ſo univerſally in Bengal, the Perſian is uſed in all mercantile tranſactions: and if the ſtudy of it was generally followed, and applied to practice, hundreds of *Surcors* and *Banians*, who now eat up two thirds of the merchants profits, oppreſs the country under the name of Engliſh *Gomauſhtehs*, and brand the character of their maſters with infamy, might be diſcarded and turned adrift; or at leaſt meet with ſuch checks, as would, in a great meaſure, put a ſtop to their rogueries.

"IT may be further obſerved, that the ſtudy of the Perſian is by no means unworthy the attention of the *Military*, for this plain reaſon; becauſe it is the beſt, and indeed the only road to a perfect acquaintance with the language of Hindoſtan; without which, no officer, however great his military abilities, can be eſteemed properly qualified to command a battalion of our native troops. The loſs of more than one detachment from that very deficiency, has proved this beyond diſpute. It may be added, that an officer on a detached command, muſt always

have occafion to correfpond, fometimes to negotiate with the chief men of the diftricts and provinces, where he may be, or through which he may have occafion to pafs: and thefe negotiations, however trifling they may at firft appear, have been frequently known to lead to matters of vaft importance. This is another, and, I think, no bad reafon, why an officer ought to be acquainted with the Perfian and Hindoftan languages.

" In oppofition to the foregoing it may be afferted, that the difficulties attending the ftudy and acquifition of a copious and elegant language, differing totally from our own in phrafe and idiom, and cloathed in unknown, complex, and obfcure characters, would be infurmountable to many; and that the various occupations and bufineffes, in which the Company's fervants in India are employed, cannot afford them leifure and opportunity to engage in fo troublefome and arduous an undertaking; and therefore, as heretofore, the acquifition of this valuable knowledge muft be left to thofe young men, who, from curiofity, ambition, or fuperior abilities, are inclined to devote themfelves to fuch difficult ftudies. In reply to the *firft* of the above objections, I can, from perfonal knowledge, venture to affirm, That a very moderate fhare of abilities and of memory, fupported by a common proportion of perfeverance and attention, are fufficient to overcome the ideal difficulties, arifing from the copioufnefs of the language itfelf, from the difference of the idiom, and from the obfcurity of the character.

" In anfwer to the *fecond*, I will allow that the occupations and employments of the Company's junior fervants are many and various; and that if pleafure and diffipation be admitted of the number, they have not a moment to fpare. But fuppofing it practicable for them to curtail their attendance on the laft mentioned important bufineffes but for two fhort hours in the day, I do affert, that they may with eafe make themfelves

mafters

maſters of the language, and that in a very moderate ſpace of time.

"THE advantages ariſing from a knowledge of the Perſian to gentlemen in India have not, till within theſe few years, been perfectly underſtood. In fact, its *general* utility has not exiſted but from that period, when the Company found it neceſſary to place the entire adminiſtration of the provinces of *Bengal* and *Bahar* in the hands of their own proper ſervants. It is therefore reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a circumſtance which did not immediately ſtrike many of the ableſt of their ſuperior officers abroad, could not ſuddenly engage the attention of their adminiſtration at home. And hence we muſt account for the little encouragement hitherto given to the ſtudy of the Perſian language.

"BUT I conceive it is now evident, that the Court of Directors, from the information which they have from time to time received, are fully convinced of its great utility; and that they are determined to promote the cultivation of it to the utmoſt of their power. For to this intention we muſt aſcribe the very neceſſary encouragement which they have given to the learned Author of the Perſian and Arabic Dictionary; the firſt volume of which has been already publiſhed. Of this valuable work, as appears by the printed propoſals, they have engaged to take one hundred and fifty copies: which, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, they intend to diſtribute among their ſervants abroad, and thereby to facilitate the ſtudy of the language, now rendered infinitely more eaſy than it was formerly, by the labours of the foregoing and another learned Author; whoſe Grammar, added to this Dictionary, has entirely removed every poſſible impediment. Indeed, all that appears wanting at preſent to promote a general application to the Perſian in India, is a proper encouragement on the part of the Eaſt India Company, ſupported by their orders and authority; and a conſequent conviction in

their junior ſervants, that a knowledge of that language is neceſſary to their promotion. If they were taught to know, that an acquaintance with the Perſian was the principal avenue, through which they were to expect to arrive at ſuperior rank, and that that knowledge for the future would be ſo far ſubſtituted in the place of ſeniority, as to render ſeniority of no avail without it, it would then become the principal object of the junior claſſes of their ſervants; and the language of courſe would be generally ſtudied.

" It may be added, that the above ſcheme, though a partial, would be no bad ſcale, by which to meaſure the abilities of their younger ſervants: for though a knowledge of that language in the perſons who poſſeſſed it, could not point out the extent of their abilities; yet the want of that knowledge in thoſe who could not acquire it, would certainly diſcover thoſe who had no abilities at all. For a man who, ſo circumſtanced, wanted talents, memory, or perſeverance to form a moderate acquaintance with any language whatever; although he might make a tolerable ſmith, or carpenter, or bricklayer, would certainly turn out a very bad merchant, a very indifferent inſpector of a province, or military officer.

" In my ideas of the utility and importance of a knowledge of the Perſian in the ſervants of the Company, I am ſupported by the opinions of ſeveral of the firſt Characters who have appeared in India; amongſt whom, Mr. Hastings, now Preſident of the ſupreme Council in *Bengal*, and the late Governor Vansittart, are particularly diſtinguiſhed. Thoſe gentlemen did not think the Perſian unworthy their attention; they found leiſure to acquire a knowledge of that, and, conſequently, of the language of Hindoſtan; in which they doubtleſs found their advantage. And I have been credibly informed, that both Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings had in contemplation the eſtabliſhment of an Academy in England, in

order

order to promote the ſtudy of the Perſian language; and to enable ſuch young men, as were intended for the India ſervice, to acquire the rudiments of that uſeful knowledge at home. The return of theſe gentlemen to India rendered their intentions abortive: but thoſe intentions, neverthelefs, tend to prove the high idea they entertained of its importance and utility.

"IN a word, the neceſſity of a knowledge of the Perſian, to gentlemen reſiding in India, may, I think, be placed in a very clear point of view, by the following conciſe and ſimple Query, or Compariſon. If an inhabitant of France, a Spaniard, a Swede, or a Dane, were to viſit England with a view of improving his fortunes, would it not be neceſſary for him to learn the language of this country, in order to render himſelf capable of filling any employment whatever, either Civil or Military?

"THE general ſtudy of the Perſian language would be productive of one other advantage to the Eaſt India Company, well worthy their attention. From the ſmallneſs of the number of thoſe who have acquired a practical knowledge of the Perſian language, and the ſtill ſmaller number who have returned to England poſſeſſed of that knowledge, I have been led to believe, that a Department, which I ſhould conſider of much importance to the Company, has not hitherto been eſtabliſhed. If the ſtudy of the Perſian ſhould meet with the encouragement it merits, and, in conſequence thereof, the application to that ſtudy ſhould become general, many gentlemen might return from India well qualified for the purpoſe, and with ſuch moderate fortunes, as might not place them above the acceptance of the office I am about to point out. It is well known, that the Court of Directors annually receive from their ſettlements in India, Letters, Memorials, Treaties, and other important papers, in the Perſian language, tranſmitted to them as vouchers by their officers abroad. It is true, that tranſlations of ſuch Papers are uſually ſent with the originals. But it muſt be well known to gentlemen converſant in India affairs, that

from *many circumstances*, accurate translations of such Letters, Memorials, and Treaties, by a gentleman unbiassed by party, faction, or interest, and under their own immediate protection, must be highly acceptable and advantageous to the India Government at home. Such a person would also be able to translate into the Persian language all such Treaties and Letters, as they might have occasion to send or write to the native Powers of Hindostan; which might be transmitted to India under their proper Seal, and consequently not be liable to an erroneous translation abroad.

"I HAVE been informed from good authority, that several gentlemen in the Direction, a very few years ago, were sufficiently convinced of the utility of such an establishment. The arrangement and expences of a regular Persian Secretary's Office at the India House, by some who are advocates for œconomy, might be esteemed an objection: but this, I conceive, may be easily obviated. For such a person as I have pointed out, might be induced, for a moderate salary to undertake the Office: he might reside in, or at any distance from the Capital; the necessary papers might be transmitted to him by their proper Secretary for the time being, and might be returned by him to the same Secretary, with their translations.

"THE foregoing Observations contain all that occurs to me on the subject, and I sincerely wish, that they may afford you some little assistance, in proving the high importance of Persian literature; and that you will be enabled to point out the propriety of promoting in this country the study of a language, so necessary to the servants of the Company, so advantageous to the Company themselves; and, from the extent and wealth of their Territories and Commerce, not an unimportant object to the British Nation.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM DAVY"

F I N I S.

آورده است می گوید که ازروی همین یادداشتهاو بکمك آنها تیمور بعدها تاریخ‌زندگانی خودو طرحهاو تعبیه‌های‌خویش‌را شخصاً نگاشت ولی‌چون تاریخ‌خصوصی بود نسخهٔ آن منتشر نشد ، و شرف‌الدّین‌علی یزدی‌ومیرخواند صاحب روضة‌الصّفا آن‌را ندیدند وفقط بدست‌مورخین دورترو متأخرتر (= ابوطالب حسینی !) رسید .

چون این گفتار مستر دیوی مبتنی بر دلیل‌و مدرکی نیست و بطلان این انتساب امروز مسلم‌است ارزش آن‌را ندارد که بتفصیل‌باز گفته شود .

جوزف هوایت در انتهای مقدّمهٔ خـود فهرستی از گفتارهـای حکیمانهٔ امیرتیمور که‌درضمن این کتاب آمده‌است چاپ کرده‌است. این فهرست‌را که بانگلیسی است شخصی از دوستان وی بنام‌هندرسن Hendersen از روی همین ترجمه ترتیب داده ، و عبارات استخراج شده ازان‌رادرتحت چهارعنوان : گفتارهای سیاسی ، گفتارهای‌نظامی، وقایع‌مهم ، گفتارهای دینی ، تدوین کرده است .

خردادماه ۱۳٤۲

مجتبی مینوی

است اطلاع داده‌است که : نسخه‌ای که متن از روی آن چاپ و با ترجمه‌منتشرشده‌است در کتبخانهٔ دکترویلیام‌هنتر Dr. W. Hunter محفوظ است*. ترجمهٔ فصلی از این نسخه‌را نمونه‌وار در ۱۷۸۰ من منتشر کردم و بسیارمورد توجه شد؛ و خواستم تمام‌را ترجمه کنم در نقل اصطلاحات نظامی‌و تعبیرات مأخوذ اززبان تاتاری چنان‌اشکالاتی پیش راه من آمد که ناچارکار ترجمه‌را به مستر دیوی محوّل کردم که هم‌ازلحاظ آشنائی‌بفنّ نظام ، وهم از جهت علم به‌زبان،شایستگی بیشتر دارد . ترجمه‌را تمام کردو بهندوستان رفت و کار نشر کتاب بعهدهٔ من افتادو در مراقبت نشرمتن‌و طبع ترجمه‌و تهیّهٔ فهرست به وظیفه‌ای که داشتم عمل کردم . طبع این‌متن‌و ترجمه علاوه براینکه خواننده‌را با محصول فکر تیمور آشنا می‌کندو از اعمال اوآگاه می‌سازد وسیلهٔ خوبیست از برای تعلّم زبان فارسی که امروز در مستملکات ما درهندوستان بجهت انگلیسیهائی که آنجا مانده‌اند وکار می‌کنند کمال لزوم‌را داردو موجب امتیازو مزیت‌است .

سپس‌نامه‌ای‌را نقل می‌کند که‌مستردیوی راجع به اصیل‌بودن یا حقیقت نداشتن نسبت این تزوکات به‌شخص امیرتیمور نوشته‌است . وی دلایل و براهینی بر صحّت این انتساب اقامه کرده‌است که کلیهٔ آنها استحسانی‌است‌و خود او اقرار کرده‌است که هیچ برهان تاریخی بر صحیح بودن این نسبت بدست نیاورده است . بعد از آنکه ملخّص اقوال شرف‌الدّین علی یزدی‌را (که سابقاً گذشت) ترجمه کرده و

* بنده نمی‌داندآن نسخه فعلاکجاست و آن کتابخانه یاموزهٔ دکترهنتر چه شده‌است .

عمایم از سادات و علماءو فقهاء و اهل فضلو دانش از بخشیان ایغور و دبیران فرس ملازم می‌بوده‌اند و همواره جمعی ازیشان بـر حسب فرمان هرچه وقوع می‌یافت از صادرات افعال و اقوال آن حضرتو واردات‌احوال ملك و ملّتو ارکان دولت همه‌را تحقیق نموده باهتمامی تمام قلمی می کردند ، وحکم چنان بود که هر قضیّه چنانچه درواقع بوده باز نموده‌شود بی تصرّفی‌دران بزیادتی و نقصان ... وهم‌به‌اشارت علیّهٔ آن حضرت اصحاب‌بلاغتو براعت آن‌را کسوت عبارت پوشانیده بنظمو نثردر سلك تألیف می کشیدند بهمان شرط که در ضبط آن‌رفته بود ، و بکرّات در مجلس عالی بسمع مبارك می رسانیدنـد تا وثوق تمام بصحّت آن حاصل می‌شدو بدین نمط منظومه‌ای ترکی و مؤلفی فارسی هریك ازان مشتمل بر معظّمات احوال و اوضاع آن حضـرت رقم زدهٔ‌کلك نظمو تألیف شده بود ... حضرت سلطنت پناهی (یعنـی شاهرخ) مجموع نسخ مذکوررا از منظومو منثور ترکی‌و فارسی از تمام ممالك طلب داشته جمع آمده بودو آماده نهاده ... الی آخر .

با وجود این نسبت کتاب ابوطالب حسینی به امیر تیمورامروز مورد قبول محققین نیست ، و اگرچه متنی ترکی وجود داشته است او آن‌را در دست نداشته ، و بهرحال آن‌هم انشای خود تیمور نبوده است ، و مسلماً بعضی از اشارات تاریخی آن با آنچه در ظفرنامه‌های شامی‌و یزدی‌و تواریخ دیگرآمده‌است اختلاف فاحش دارد . مع‌هذا کتاب بخواندن می‌ارزد ، و مخصوصاً از این‌حیث که‌فارسی وانگلیسی آن باهم‌است از برای دانش‌آموزان و دانشجویان سودمنداست .

در مقدّمه‌ای که جوزف‌هوایت‌بر متن‌و ترجمهٔ چاپ خودنوشته

افزوده‌است حذف کند و کتاب‌را از نو بصورتی مفصّلتر انشا و تحریر نماید ـ و او این‌کار را کرد .

در اینکه‌درعهدامیرتیموریادداشتهائی دربارهٔ واقعات‌زندگانی او نوشته می‌شده‌است (نه توسط شخص او بلکه بقلم وقایع نگاران) گویا تردیدی نباشد ، زیرا که غیاث‌الدّین علی‌یزدی آن‌را بدست داشته،و نظام‌الدّین شامی‌وشرف‌الدّین علی‌یزدی هردو ازآنها استفاده کرده‌اند . در ظفرنامهٔ شامی (چاپ فلیکس تاور ، ۱۹٥٦ ، ج ۱ ، ص ۱۰ تا ۱۱) اشاره‌ای باین‌خبر آمده‌است که ملخّص آن اینست : در سال‌هشتصدو چهار امیر صاحبقران باحضار بندهٔ کمینه نظام شامی‌مثال داد، واشارت عالی نفاذ یافت تاتاریخی که‌جهت‌آن حضرت و صادرات افعال ایشان از مبدأ ظهور این دولت ابد پیوند الی یومنا نوشته‌اندو ترتیب‌آن کما ینبغی بتقدیم نرسیده این بنده به تنقیح‌و ترتیب آن مشغول گردد ، امّا بشرطی که از حلیهٔ تکلّف و پیرایهٔ تصلّف مصون‌و محروس‌باشد ... علما درحقّ سخن پسندیده گفته‌اند ما تُدرکه العامة ولا تُنکره الخاصة ... التزام کردم که سوانح حالات و وقایع‌صادرات ایام این‌دولت چنانچه تاغایت ضابطانی که حاضر بوده‌اند و ملازمانی که در سفرو حضر وقایع و حوادث‌را ناظر ، ثبت کرده باشند لباس عبارتی پاك بی‌تکلّف پوشاند .

و شرف‌الدّین علی یزدی بتفصیل بیشتر در باب این‌مطلب بحث می کند و خلاصهٔ سخنان او اینست (ظفرنامه ، چاپ‌کلکته ، ج ۱ ، ص۲٤ وما بعد) :

حضرت صاحب قران‌را در سفر و حضر پیوسته اعاظم ارباب

استیوارت Major Ch. Stewart در ۱۸۳۰ در لندن بچاپ رسیده است . قسم تزوکات بفرانسه هم ترجمه شده و مقالهٔ مفصّلی نیز به آلمانی در بارهٔ تمام کتاب تحریر شده‌است . رجوع شود به «ادبیّات ایران» تألیف استوری ج ۱ ص ۲۸۰ تا ۲۸۲ . عنوان تزوکات تیموری گاهی نیز بر هردو قسمت کتاب اطلاق شده‌است ، ولی آنچه در این دو قسم آمده‌است گویا اصل ترکی نداشته‌و از انشای امیر تیمور نبوده است . ابوطالب حسینی تربتی که خویشتن‌را مترجم این کتاب از ترکی بفارسی معرّفی می کند در مقدّمه‌ای که بران نوشته‌است دعوی می کند که در حرمین اشرفین در کتبخانهٔ جعفر پاشا حاکم یمن کتابی ترکی دیدم از ملفوظات عالی حضرت جنت مکانی فردوس آشیانی صاحبقرانی ... آن‌را از ترکی بفارسی نقل نمودم .

ظنّ اینکه این مطلب را ابوطالب حسینی راست نگفته باشد و تمام کتاب اختراع خود او و تلفیق و تحریر اخباری باشد که از کتابهای تاریخی مثل ظفرنامهٔ نظام‌الدّین شامی و ظفرنامهٔ شرف‌الدّین علی‌یزدی وغیره برداشته‌است بسیار قوی است ، مخصوصاً که دارای اغلاط تاریخی متعدّد است . از مقدّمهٔ کتاب دیگری بنام **ملفوظات صاحبقرانی** تألیف افضل بخاری برمی‌آید که در ۱۰۴۷ وقتی که‌این کتاب ابوطالب حسینی تقدیم شاه جهان گردید و بر وی خوانده شد آن پادشاه متوجّه خطاهای تاریخی آن واختلافاتی که بین مندرجات این کتاب‌و مضامین‌ظفرنامهٔ یزدی موجوداست گردید و به محمّدافضل پسر تربیت خان بخاری امر کرد آن را با کتب تاریخ مقابله کرده اغلاط آن‌را مرتفع سازد و عباراتی‌را که ابوطالب حسینی از خود

دیباچه

آنچه بنـام **واقعات تیموری** یا **ملفوظات تیموری** شناختـه می‌شود کتابیست بفارسی که حاوی بعضی مطالب تاریخی است‌و بقلم شخصی بنام ابوطالب‌حسینی تربتی‌تحریر یافته و او دعوی کرده‌است کـه اصل کتاب بزبان ترکی جغتائی و بانشـای امیرتیمور گـورکان بوده است و یادداشتهای شخصـی او بوده‌است از وقایع زندگانـی‌و سلطنت خودش . این کتاب دوقسمت دارد ، یکی ملفوظات و دیگری تُزوك یا تُزوکات (بمعنی بنیانها و تأسیسات و طـرحها و تعبیه‌ها) . همین‌قسم اخیراست که‌باراوّل‌در ۱۷۷۳در اکسفرد باترجمهٔ انگلیسی‌و مقدّمهٔ مفصّلی به انگلیسی انتشار یافت و خواننده اینك چاپ مجدّد آن‌را در دست دارد . مترجم کتاب به انگلیسی شخصی بنام میجر ویلیام دیوی Major W. Davy بوده‌است‌و مهیّا کنندهٔ متن فارسی از بـرای چاپ‌و ناشر مجموع متن‌و ترجمه شخصـی بنـام جوزف هوایت Joseph White که در آن زمان در اکسفرد مدرّس زبان عربی بوده است . مصحّح و ناشر بعضی از عبارات متن‌را حذف کرده بوده‌و ترجمهٔ آنهارا هم نیاورده‌است ، مع‌هذا این متن‌و ترجمه‌خالی از ارزش نیست واقدام به تجدید طبع آن مفید می‌نمود . متن فارسی همین قسمت یعنی تزوکات در ایران بچاپ سنگی همراه قابوس نـامه باهتمام رضاقلی‌خان هدایت لله باشی در۱۲۸۵ هجری منتشر شده ، و ترجمهٔ انگلیسی قسم نخستین یعنی ملفوظات نیز توسّط میجر چارلز

انتشارات کتابفروشی اسدی شماره ۶

تزوکات تیموری

تحریر ابوطالب حسینی تربتی بفارسی

با ترجمهٔ انگلیسی آن

ازروی چاپ ۱۷۷۳ شهر اکسفرد

بطریق افست نقل شد

باهتمام کتابفروشی اسدی

طهران - میدان بهارستان

۱۳۴۲